IDR

...tional ...lopment ...iew

VOLUME III, NUMBER 2, JUNE 1961
Published by the SOCIETY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT Washington DC USA

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT REVIEW

VOLUME III | NUMBER 2 | JUNE 1961

From the Editor's Viewpoint

THE MENU FOR JUNE, we think, is rich in character and variety. (We can say this without boasting because the credit is the authors', not the editor's.) It would be still richer if we had not at the last had to omit, for lack of space, some articles already in type. A principal though not the only determining factor: Articles that have time-pressure on them must be used now or never; those relatively more timeless can be postponed. The inclusion in this issue of a certain amount of material from our highly successful third annual conference (more will appear in the next issue) helped to create space difficulties. We were unable, to our great regret, to give any space to chapter news.

This is the penalty of being good but impecunious. In the last issue we begged to be inundated with material for the *Review*. We were, and much of it is enticing. Now we sigh for just a little more economic freedom. Enough to print, say, 64 pages or 80 pages or even 96 pages when editorial judgment says we have that much first-rate copy crying out to be published. Instead, we must stick to 48 pages, and in fact develop a guilt complex whenever we go beyond 32.

This is a time surely when all stimulating, worth-while contributions to thought and experience in international development are urgently needed. There is a practical limit to journal size, of course, but it is not the same as a fixed pecuniary limit, which is like a poor diet restricting the height of a human being inherently capable of growing a good deal taller.

OUR FIRST ADVERTISEMENTS, appearing in this issue, may mark the breakthrough that will lead to greater affluence, if that is not too strong a word. We thank these adventurous advertisers and hope their temerity pays. We also hope many more will crowd along the trail they have broken. There are enthusiasts who argue that, considering the untold sums now involved in world economic development, and considering the size and nature of the stakes, and considering the influential high-prestige character of our membership and readership (even though relatively small in numbers), and considering the competitive nature of the market internationally and domestically, the *Review* ought to be a natural medium for advertising a great many services and products. We don't pretend to know but think the argument has merit. Needless to say, we shall be exceptionally meticulous, as a non-profit public-service organization, about the kind of advertising we accept in the *Review*.

The present membership, incidentally, is 1700 and climbing steadily. Some predict an ultimate figure of 30,000 or more. Meanwhile we are currently printing and carefully distributing some 6,000 copies of each issue of the *Review*. Any really substantial advertising revenue would (1) be regarded as an expression of confidence in the usefulness of the *Review;* (2) assure regularity of publication and greater flexibility in the size of the issues; (3) perhaps make it possible for the editor to concentrate more fully on the multiform creative aspects of the work by reducing such time-consuming chores as two-finger typing, proofreading, and dreadfully-neglected filing. This we regard as a luxury that has to be earned and we hope to earn it some day if we can manage to live that long.

The obliging SID executive secretary Mr. Marion Clawson, whose address is 1720 Rhode Island Avenue, NW, Washington 6, DC, will promptly send information about our advertising rates to inquirers. If any reader cares to and can (on a no-commission basis for the present at least) turn a potential advertiser our way, the Society for International Development will be grateful.

NO MORE FITTING TRIBUTE to the memory of Dorothy Cooke Hambidge could have been devised than the fund created by a number of anonymous fellow-members of SID to send subscriptions to the *International Development Review* to 10 colleges and universities in Africa, in her name, for the two years 1961 and 1962. This she would like; this reflects her heart and interest. Africa was chosen partly because educational institutions there might find it especially difficult to afford such a journal; yet they are just the institutions that should have it. These are the colleges to which the subscriptions have been sent:

University of Dakar, Dakar, Senegal
Fourah Bay University, Freetown, Sierra Leone
University College of Ghana, Legon, Ghana
University College, Ibadan, Nigeria
University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria
Louvanium University, Leopoldville, Congo
University College of Pius XII, Roma, Basutoland
University College of Fort Hare, Natal, Union of South Africa
Makerere College, Kampala, Uganda
University of Khartoum, Khartoum, Sudan

SIDNEY KRAMER died of cancer April 23 at the age of 49. "For 15 years his H Street bookshop was an island of

literacy amid towering office buildings. His customers ranged from Cabinet officials to stenographers who shared a devotion to bookish matters. His store contained the kind of obscure and specialized volumes that a bibliographer-turned-bookseller [he used to be in the Library of Congress] might be expected to know about." Thus the *Washington Post* in an editorial tribute.

Sidney Kramer was an enthusiastic member of SID. Those who attended our second annual conference will remember his well stocked book display, which was a center of attraction; indeed, many of those "obscure and specialized volumes" in his shop were about other countries and international affairs. Government people used his services, we suspect, because no one could dig up better and faster a pile of reference books urgently needed as background for an important new project (all new projects are important for a while). This was a rare individual. He was a bookseller, but likewise he was a force. In the intensity and drive with which he went at things that interested him, he made this editor think of nothing so much as the blastoff of an ICBM. His feeling about books and honest scholarship in books was a passion. Singularly generous, outgoing, and spontaneous in his friendships and admirations, Sidney Kramer is missed indeed by the many of us who knew him.

WANTED! VOLUME I NUMBER 1. Subscribing libraries keep asking for and urgently need complete sets of the *International Development Review*. Our supply of the first issue (October 1959) is completely exhausted. Ten thousand copies of that issue were printed and widely distributed; many must still be tucked away in desk drawers or lying on shelves in the USA and other countries. If you have a copy and will return it to us, or if you can persuade someone else who has a copy to return it, we shall be deeply grateful. More important, you will be serving the cause of international development, since library copies get far more use and are read by far more people than copies held by individuals. We shall be glad to reimburse postage. Copies and correspondence should be addressed to *Mr. Marion Clawson, Executive Secretary, Society for International Development, 1720 Rhode Island Avenue, NW, Washington 6, DC.*

Letters

ON "EDUCATION FOR REVOLUTION"

In the February issue of the *International Development Review*, Robert Solo, in his short article entitled "Education for Revolution," described very well an unfortunate situation in the training of scholars who come to the United States from the underdeveloped countries. I am writing to you to express most emphatic agreement with his assessment of that situation, and to second enthusiastically his proposal for specialized institutions and specialized courses for these scholars.

In brief, as Mr. Solo says, these scholars are, with rare exceptions, placed in the set academic programs of American universities, and are given courses which treat the problems they will be expected to deal with in their own countries only incidentally, if at all. And, even in their own institutions, in their own countries, their curricula are patterned after those of Western European or American universities, and they, too, tend to be quite out of touch with the "real problems."

I feel qualified to support Mr. Solo as a result of three different types of experience. In September I returned to my present position after three years of service with the University of California-University of Indonesia Economics Project. For the last two years of that tour of duty I served as chairman of that project and was, therefore, directly concerned with the matter of trying to arrange for proper training of Indonesian economists in the United States. And since I was also a member of the economics faculty at the University of Indonesia, I was directly concerned with curriculum planning. And also, as a member of the faculty at the University of California at Davis, I have been connected with the problem of fitting the foreign student into the course work which we have to offer. On the strength of this experience I would have to say that I agree with Mr. Solo's implied conclusion that we are in real danger of failing quite badly with these programs. And specialization seems to be the only efficient way to remedy the situation.

BRUCE GLASSBURNER
Chairman, Department of Economics
University of California, Davis

MERCI GRACIAS THANKS

May I congratulate you on the development of this *Review* which is not only living up to, but is surpassing, original expectations?

B. K. NEHRU
Commissioner-General for
Economic Affairs, India

Congratulations on Volume 3, Number 1 of the *International Development Review*. It is a very neat collection of cogent articles extremely useful for teaching, research, and just plain thinking. I am also impressed by the chronology, notices, and books in the *Review*.

GERARD J. MANGONE
Syracuse University

I think that every issue improves on the one before and that you have done a splendid job in nursing this new baby into a lusty child.

MILTON J. ESMAN
University of Pittsburgh

The Society for International Development welcomes the expression of divergent and even contradictory views in the *International Development Review*, believing that this best serves the needs of its members. The fact that an article appears in the *Review* does not mean that it represents the views of the Society, nor does the Society accept responsibility for the views expressed in any article, signed or unsigned.

Articles, notices, announcements, news items, and other material submitted to the *International Development Review* should be typewritten, double spaced, and addressed to the Editor. Return postage (U. S. stamps) should be included if the material is to be returned and if it was mailed with U. S. postage originally. The *Review* is not yet financially able to pay for articles or other material. Because of staff limitations, it would be advisable to write the Editor in advance before submitting an article, to determine whether the *Review* would be interested in seeing it.

Editorial address:
International Development Review
Gove Hambidge, Editor
10614 St. Paul Street
Kensington, Maryland, USA

Business address:
Society for International Development
Mr. Marion Clawson, Executive Secretary
1720 Rhode Island Avenue, NW
Washington 6, DC, USA

Typographic design: HUBERT W. LECKIE
Printing: JUDD & DETWEILER, *Washington, D. C.*

CONGO EXPERIENCE: SOME HARD LESSONS

DEREK S. SINGER

ON JUNE 30, 1960, the day that marked the accession to independence of Africa's (then) most populous country, special US Ambassador Robert Murphy presented the infant Congo Republic with two birthday presents. One was a handsome bronze bust of Abraham Lincoln. The other was an outright grant of 300 scholarships—with no strings attached.

ABOUT A DOZEN EXPERIENCED ICA technicians and administrators were suddenly and rapidly transported thousands of miles away from their home posts to be on hand for the wild jubilation with which 14 million joyful Congolese were launched into freedom. Uncle Sam, for the first time in the (African) history of the Mutual Security Program, was actually ready with top-flight assistance personnel in the basic fields of agriculture, education, training, and administration. For purposes of maximum impact and publicity, a dramatic "birthday present" of hundreds of free training grants was immediately offered. The presence of our US experts was to insure that all these grants would be carefully screened, expert selections would be made, and judicious professional disposition of the scholarships would be carried out on rational lines within a cautiously devised framework of developmental priorities.

Newspapers and radio stations quickly grabbed the story and played it up for all it was worth. National and international wire services carried it around the world. "Impact" was the intent of the offer, and maximum impact it certainly made. Later explanations that the grants had no time deadline and that they would be awarded only in conjunction with individual technical aid projects as these were duly proposed and agreed upon fell on deaf or incredulous ears. Further clarification, to the effect that the grants were meant only for Congolese with some education who already possessed a minimum level of technical competence, were brushed aside. No indeed; this was it! Americans had come from the other side of the world laden with gifts for the starry-eyed young country, and who could be blamed for concluding that their bounty was but another proof that independence had brought the millenium?

Two weeks later, it happened. The Thysville Garrison of the Congo Army (CNA) revolted, disarmed and locked up their white officers, and marched 85 miles to Leopoldville to convince their brothers-in-arms to oust the Belgian administration completely. Garish newspaper headlines and newsreel scenes are still too fresh in mind to require a pictorial description of the weeks of anarchy and confusion through which the unhappy Congo passed last summer. Technical training for the future seemed pitifully irrelevant at that time. Weeks of careful planning and talks, all based on the presumption of the unbroken presence of Belgian technicians and administrators and on the continuing prevalence of Belgian capital, institutions, and standards—all went to naught.

As the entire world supported and cheered the massive intervention of the United Nations forces into the seething Congo to put an end to the rebellion, the USA made a flat decision. All American help and support to the Congo should be channeled henceforth through the UN. All negotiations for a bilateral aid agreement were thereby suspended, and by mid-August every American technician had been withdrawn from Leopoldville. There were only two exceptions: an ICA executive officer was kept to "run the store" (if it should ever open for business again), and with United Nations concurrence, a training office (with the writer in charge) was established to follow through on our solemn commitment of 300 scholarships.

AT BEST, PROGRAMMING is never an easy matter. In the field of training, the basic decisions as to what we are training *for, where* training should be accomplished, *how long* it should last, and *which types* of participants in *what fields* should be programmed are all basic policy decisions. In the typical ICA mission, the answers and priorities are jointly decided by at least three field divisions (Program, Technical, and Training), "backstopped" by several Washington offices (Country Desk, Program, Participant Training). Often still other divisions are also consulted where the projects involved are new or unusually complex—for example, Economic Analysis, Operations, and the Regional Office in ICA/W; and the controller and mission chief at the USOM level.

In Leopoldville, by the time the situation calmed down sufficiently to make any kind of training program even slightly meaningful, our "backstoppers" had disappeared. The US forces, late in the summer of 1960, had all they could do in the military, political, and economic relief areas, and their economists and technical advisors were both too busy and too new to give us much effective help.

Data that our own technicians had developed prior to their hasty departure gave us some clues as to what, basically, we should be training *for:* just about everything! The figures are now only too well known—there are 36 Congolese college graduates, 300 secondary school graduates, no doctors, no lawyers, not one civil servant, not a

EDITOR'S NOTE: The views expressed in this article are the author's and do not necessarily reflect those of the ICA.

single engineer or scientist, and so on. Where, then, should we start? What are the priorities in such a situation? Are doctors and nurses more important than teachers and scientists? Should we send high school students to France or government clerks to California? In a totally unprecedented situation, and in the absence of any technical guidance to effect these decisions, which could be so vital to the future of the struggling and unhappy young African republic, a number of risky but definite decisions had to be made—and they had to be made fast.

Our basic program was hammered out in four general spheres, as follows:

- Impact teams—8 to 10 trainees—6-week US trips (journalists, youth leaders, parliamentarians, etcetera).
- Medium-term public administration teams—8 to 10 trainees—16-week US trips (permanent Congolese career clerks throughout the government, training to prepare for important ministerial jobs).
- Fifty secondary-school graduates—4-year French or US college scholarships, in all fields.
- Individual graduate or specialized-school studies—6-12 months (including Congolese students originally sponsored by Belgium).

ONCE THIS ADMITTEDLY IMPROVISED training schedule was worked out as a catch-all to at least get the program under way in the chaotic but urgent Congolese situation, the next big problem was the screening and selection of candidates. The standard US Government application and biodata forms used for this purpose soon proved outrageously complex and unsuitable for our situation. Birth dates, exact addresses, parental data, and a host of other "important" questions were left blank by the hundreds; to the Congolese culture these queries were wholly irrelevant or unimportant, and many neither knew nor cared about the answers.

Of far greater importance, the very premises upon which our "foreign" concepts of advanced technical training rest proved largely meaningless: for example, (1) to have already worked in the field for which training is requested; (2) to have received the maximum technical training locally available before applying for foreign specialization; (3) to be "mature" enough to properly absorb training (generally 25-45); and (4) even our fundamental operational concept that academic scholarships are quite separate from technical training grants. Neither the peoples' languages nor their terms of cultural reference gave them much help in grasping these subtleties and distinctions.

The important point is this: if we as US Government representatives had insisted on these regulations, our program would have foundered then and there. The recipients of our generous, rather casual gift would never have "qualified" under our normal ground rules for years to come, and only ill-will, resentment, and utter frustration would have been the result.

Flexibility and tolerance were essential to adapt our program's "ground rules" to the alien but sincerely different cultural milieu in which we had to effectuate it.

Certain other equally basic (and normally valid) premises that did not fit were also discarded; for example, the "host government" could not choose the participants since there was no government in an organized sense. As a result, we were forced to make our own basic selections within the four broad programming guidelines, after having found or trained several Congolese officials in each field who had displayed some measure of civic responsibility and familiarity with the broad goals of our program, who would help us choose and lend the prestige of their support. Participants of course could not be "project-centered" in the traditional ICA sense, as no broad technical assistance projects existed or were immediately foreseen.

Our approach, then, was to effect a maximum impact on the people through our program; to carry out a multifaceted approach toward satisfying some of the fundamental needs of the country; to cover as broad an area (through the general public administration project) as possible; and to aim at strengthening existing institutions through the priority selection of trainees working for established schools, hospitals, agencies, businesses, and other on-going organizations, where the effects of the "multiplier principle" would have maximum probability of taking hold and spreading upon the participants' return.

MEANWHILE, MANY IMMEDIATE and practical problems arose. For a number of entirely valid political and strategic reasons, our Embassy personnel wished us to concentrate on certain specific training fields, and to select a number of "hand-picked" individuals for advanced training abroad. Many of these were unconnected with or even contrary to the programming and selection guidelines we had carefully worked out after having spoken with literally hundreds of Congolese in all walks of life and taken our cues from carefully cultivated "leaders."

The Information Service, for equally proper reasons, was very anxious for us to "promote maximum impact" by giving all-out priority to selecting people generally within their particular field—journalists, reporters, politicians, opinion-makers of all types.

The greatest challenge to the training officer in attempting to put across a meaningful program within such a context lay, quite naturally, in the miscomprehension and misunderstanding with which he was met on every side, and in the total absence of any technical guidance in attempting to explain and to "sell" his program. Perforce, then, he became a "training technician," rather than merely a training officer or "administrator."

Day after day we had to cover the same basic information: "technical training is not academic education"; "tribal origins and loyalties have nothing to do with a candidate's suitability"; "a basic knowledge of the language in the foreign country of training is required"; "houseboys, chauffeurs, and laborers are not prepared for technical training abroad"; and even, to some from the more remote areas, "airplanes are not mysterious creations to be feared."

When we were fortunate enough to find some officials to whom such propositions seemed to make sense, then the real, long-term job would begin. Further explanations were then given along the following lines: "This is *your* program—not ours. First, take stock of your personnel and match them with *your* training priorities. That is *your* job; it is *your* ministry and *your* government; it is now, finally, *your* country, and we are here only to help point the way." To many Congolese, these facts were difficult to digest.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE UN'S PART in the Congo picture would easily require a paper on its own—really a book—much more extensive than this one can be. Suffice it to say that their people in the Congo who were also concerned with various aspects of technical assistance were very nearly as ignorant of the situation and as unprepared as were we. The cross-cultural confusion was also compounded by the very different baselines and viewpoints from which the UN's multi-national technicians and administrators started. Melding together these many different national strains, getting the highly-independent Specialized Agencies to co-operate, and then trying to blend the Swedish and Malayan way of tackling a problem in balance of payments or

teacher education with some remotely pertinent Congolese tribal referrent . . . well, it may be that the multilateral aid approach will be a long time bearing fruit in that unhappy country.

THE CONGO IS STILL SEETHING, only a few short months after independence. The perspective is still short and the drama is still unfolding, so that neither solid conclusions nor a real evaluation of what we did and what we tried to do in effectuating our Congo training program is yet possible.

Still, certain general trends stand out, and certain more-or-less clear concepts might be worth setting down, even if they serve merely to help in thinking through a few do's and don't's for future programs of this kind.

- The "birthday present" approach to technical training (or to any technical assistance program, for that matter) is equivalent, in a totally unprepared and uncomprehending culture, to turning an Australian bushman loose in the cockpit of a DC-8 and telling him to fly it.

- Unless some careful and convincing research is done, not only using available facts and figures but also carefully analyzing the opinions and recommendations of persons well versed in the history, modes, needs, and value systems of the host countries in formulating basic program guidelines *beforehand,* then no foreign program can be anything more than a patchwork of improvisations. Its successes will be accidental, and its failures will be legion. For the Congo and most of the rest of tropical Africa, the well versed persons would be largely Christian missionaries, who as a group and individually often know the people and the country in the interior better than European residents or administrators do.

- When all is said and done, however uneducated and "backward" the people may seem in the brand-new countries with which we are belatedly becoming concerned, a patient and painstaking search will always turn up a handful of local citizens who have the innate sensitivity and "horse sense" to know their own people well—their needs, wants, and possibilities. Not to seek such local leaders or accord them the respect and attention that is their due and carefully include their advice in future plans, is a sure road to failure in any intercultural undertaking, including the US assistance program.

- Set rules and regulations drawn from inflexible guidebooks and manuals must be scrapped from the start. If "the book" says training (or any other aid instrumentation tool) can be given only in certain specific fields, for a fixed time, in such-and-such a language, to trainees between ages "*a* and *f*"—then the rules must be discarded—or we should stay home. Extreme flexibility is more than desirable—it is *vital* if we are to allow ourselves the minimum freedom of action needed to meet halfway a great number of unbelievably alien cultures. If our own programs and the crucial Western objectives behind them have any chance of winning even trial acceptance in Africa, then we must bend with the wind, however strong it blows.

- Much of this essential flexibility, I believe, together with the speed, agility, and resourcefulness we must also develop and apply, can be had only if we as a nation agree to keep our foreign assistance program *operationally* free of the other proper but separate functions of American foreign policy abroad. (Obviously, however, the ambassador is and must be the top *policy* boss—the head of the US country team abroad.) If our aid program and personnel become too closely involved with such basic embassy functions as diplomacy, reporting, and intelligence, or with the press, publicity, and propaganda work of the Information Service—*or if they are even directly identified with them overseas*—then much of our effectiveness is lost and the effectuation of our aid program, equally vital to American interests abroad, may be hamstrung or permanently blocked.

- Specifically, the success or failure of our Congo training program will be largely measured by whether or not we have managed to build into it the following factors:
  (a) Base it on conditions that actually exist.
  (b) Involve people in programs that actually help them.
  (c) Aim at their own interests and needs.
  (d) Be flexible (from "their" viewpoint as well as "ours").
  (e) Successfully find local leaders (and use them).
  (f) Devise sufficiently broad projects.
  (g) Help people to recognize their needs.

THE NEW FRONTIER AND THE NEW NATIONS

GEORGE W. BALL

Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, USA

IN THE WHOLE FIELD of applied social science, there is probably no task more complex than to accelerate what has come to be called, perhaps a bit too simply, "economic growth." It is a new field in which the economist, the historian, the sociologist, and indeed the anthropologist can and must consult together in what is called, in the horrid jargon of the trade, "interdisciplinary" effort.

Research was really only beginning to probe deeply into the phenomenon of growth in our own industrial society when, suddenly, we were confronted with the need to stretch new concepts and theorems to cover a heretofore unexplored world—the teeming world of new nations, and old nations suddenly awakened from centuries of sleep.

The anatomy of economic growth is complex, as the growing literature on the subject indicates. It covers a multitude of problems—the problem of how to develop skills and know-how, how to create savings, promote investment, diversify economic activity, make the best use of creative capital, and so forth.

But tonight, with all this elegant learning as a backdrop to our thinking, I choose rather to turn to the immediate

---

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Ball's article is the text (with introductory remarks omitted) of his speech at the third annual conference of SID, Washington, 28 April 1961.

and practical reality of the measures which the Free World must take in the interest of its own survival.

For the 1960's not only will be a decade of development; it will also be a decade of decision. If, for example, during the next ten years we can help bring certain of the major developing nations over the hump into self-sustaining growth, then we of the western industrial world will have widened the area of freedom for a half-billion people—freedom from the soul-crushing slavery of poverty.

But if we should fail—and if we organize this Gulliver task with Lilliputian hearts, we shall fail—then tyranny would take over and organize the chaos. Without doing too much violence to the calendar of history, we can say that the task of the 1960's is to prevent the arrival of a 1984 as pictured in George Orwell's book of that title.

Foreign economic assistance, in one form or another, has been a part of the American political landscape since the end of the war. The Marshall Plan, Point IV, Military Assistance, Mutual Security—you know the story.

In domestic politics—which after all is where the voters are—a disquieting picture has grown up of Uncle Sam as a kind of soft-headed do-gooder, going around the world pouring the milk of human kindness into bottles, and leaving one on each doorstep. Comparisons with the highly successful Marshall Plan, for example, are often heard today in nagging criticisms of the less evident results in the field of foreign aid through the decade of the 1950's.

But the whole analogy is false.

Under the Marshall Plan, we were supplying the plasma of our dollars on a short-term, emergency basis. We were dealing with nations which are some of the most advanced and sophisticated in the world, nations with evolved industrial traditions, great reservoirs of skills and know-how, and populations long familiar with industrial and civic disciplines.

Our task was to provide the necessary margin of resources, to enable them to get on with the job themselves. And they promptly did. Our American dollar aid, while large in absolute figures, was only about 13 per cent of the total investment which those nations themselves were able to mobilize.

But the task of the 1960's is utterly different. Today we are dealing with a variety of new states in the uncommitted world which, while they often differ one from the other, have many things in common. Yet they have little in common with the advanced economies of Western Europe, the chief clients of the Marshall Plan. The new nations lack, or possess in only rudimentary form, the basic prerequisites of a modern industrial society.

AS WE LOOK OUT on the world of the 1960's, a world on the march, the swiftest movement is on the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. There are 3 billion people in our world today, and more than half of them are on those old continents, so suddenly come alive. It is in those once somnolent areas that the excitement, the yeast of change is everywhere in the air.

Men for the first time in millenia are no longer content to plod in the hopeless furrows of their fathers and grandsires.

But why then is it that the 1960's, why precisely is it that this particular decade, is so critical, indeed decisive? Why cannot a second Industrial Revolution move step-by-step, over a span of several generations, as did the first—that iron smithy where our own industrial society was slowly, laboriously forged? Why is this coming decade so impatient?

It is, I suppose, because our vaulting technology has altered the dimensions of time. The sands are pouring so much faster through the hour glass of history. Time is racing. As the Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans break through the immemorial circle of stagnation, as this process gets under way, violent stresses and strains are appearing. This is the critical, forced-pace period when skills must be acquired, technical and managerial know-how developed, and capital accumulated.

This is the period, also, when dislocations in the society are greatest, and before the stage is reached when, at long last, standards of living visibly rise and people can begin to see with their own eyes that they are on the march toward better things, toward "the tomorrows that sing." The breakthrough, in short, *to self-sustaining growth.*

Our task is to speed up and make easier this early development process, to move as many nations, as quickly as possible, through the critical period. Our communist adversaries know that this early period, this time of maximum troubles and growing pains, is the moment of their greatest chance to foment chaos. They can be counted upon to exert maximum disruptive effort, to exploit the strains and stresses inherent in social change. The communist aim is to subvert the process, capture the revolutions, and use temporary turbulence to achieve all-out control.

To accomplish our objectives will not be easy. We shall need to commit large resources—and over a long period of time. We cannot, nor should we, undertake this task alone. The dozen or more advanced nations in the free world must organize their combined resources to do the job. Nor is there time to spare, for speed is of the essence, and the race will be to the swift.

I SHALL CONCENTRATE the remainder of my comments on two limited aspects of the total task:

How does the Free World best organize for the tasks ahead?

What are some of the hard issues that must be faced in the coming years?

First, as to Free World teamwork in the 1960's. It is fortunate, indeed, that economic power has rapidly grown in our own western world. As a result in part of our Marshall Plan efforts, the United States is no longer the lonely Mount Everest among the nations of the west. Today we are primus inter pares, the largest giant in a world of giants.

Hence we need no longer attempt, by ourselves, to undertake the entire task of financing economic development. Our friends in Europe are aware of this fact. And they are in agreement that the economically advanced countries should combine their strength for the task of development, just as they now combine their strength through NATO to maintain the common defense.

But this kind of international cooperation depends on an effective mechanism. Such a mechanism exists today in the form of DAG, the Development Assistance Group. One of our first tasks, as a new administration, has been to try to give new impetus to the work of DAG. Toward this end, one month ago in London, I attended a meeting of DAG in which several major steps were taken.

The group by resolution explicity recognized that the development task was a joint responsibility of all the member countries. They agreed that this task should be shared in relation to the capacity of each country. And they also agreed to the naming of a full-time chairman of the DAG, to be nominated by the United States. It will be the chair-

man's role to give guidance and leadership to the work of this group.

I come now to the second and more difficult question: What are the major issues that the advanced industrial nations must face in assisting the process of development in Asia, Africa, and Latin America?

Certain of these issues are easily identified. How may a developing country most effectively utilize the resources allocated to it? Is it necessary for it to design an over-all development plan? And how can we help in this process? What is the effect of development of a new nation on the pattern and flow of world trade? Is there a close relationship between the aid and trade concepts? And have we given sufficient thought to the crucial role of world markets in our development planning? Finally, how may aid and trade policies between advanced countries and the emerging ones be harmonized, to realize the maximum economic and political benefits from re-allocation of global resources?

I need not tell you how many complex and difficult judgments must be made by a developing country in determining the best use of aid resources. It is easy enough, to take one example, to decide that resources should be used on the basis of the "comparative advantage" which that country enjoys, in order to maximize real income, employment, and living standards. But comparative advantage is not a static condition; it changes along with the processes of development itself.

In planning terms, this implies a necessity of judgment as to what the changing pattern of comparative advantage will be now and in the future, as well as the determination of demand patterns over all the world—not only now but in the future as well. Yet predictions as to the pattern of future demands are hazardous indeed. It is difficult, if not impossible, for a country providing aid to determine its real impact on the economy of the recipient country. To a considerable degree resources are fungible, or interchangeable. Agreements as to the use of aid funds and, in many cases, aid directed toward certain activities, frees internal resources for other uses. For example, if a recipient country agrees to employ aid resources for certain infrastructure items such as roads, harbors, and schools, it may then elect to employ its internal resources to expand the production of items that may well be in glut in world markets. It is very necessary to prevent distortion of resource allocation. Whether we like it or not, much must be left to ordinary market forces. Our limited objective should be, first, to avoid obvious mistakes and duplications, and, second, to prevent as many distortions in the comparative advantage scheme as possible.

GIVEN THESE LIMITATIONS, we feel that much can be achieved by focusing on well developed country plans. President Kennedy's recent aid message is quite clear on this point.

We shall have to fashion techniques for coordinating country plans in a multilateral fashion. Much more should be done to promote intraregional coordination. For, with the growth of new and more efficient agricultural and industrial production in the less developed nations, we have already noticed the tendency for uneconomic duplication and wasteful paralleling of effort.

Let me give you an imaginary example. The comparative advantage for the manufacture of bottle tops might rapidly shift from advanced countries to less developed ones. But it would make no sense for each less developed country, in, say, Latin America, to build its own bottle-top factory. Since there is a similar tendency for each country to build its own bottle factory, and to erect trade barriers against both bottle tops and bottles from other countries, the obvious conclusion is that rational planning would call for the building of bottle-top factories in some countries, and for bottle manufacture in others.

I am sure more research and planning will pay off in this field. It should enable us to take greater advantage of the opportunities that will arise as agricultural and industrial production grow in the now less-developed nations. If our economic aid brings about such a rise, particularly in agriculture and labor-intensive light manufacture, markets must be found for these products. In short, we must devise measures that will facilitate a gradual and orderly shift in resources in the advanced countries—a shift that is in process in any event—away from such activities, and to others having a higher technological and scientific input.

To put it bluntly, it makes no sense to provide economic aid for the development of new industries and then, through trade barriers, prevent the emerging countries from having access to markets in which to sell their wares.

While we need to study and to coordinate efforts to lower trade barriers, it must be recognized that for the less developed countries there is some merit in the old familiar "infant industry" argument. What needs to be avoided, however, is the more flagrant resource mis-allocation which leads to industrial "adult infantilism." What I have in mind are industries for which no rational economic base exists either in the present or in the foreseeable future.

The developing countries, of course, will not enter the industrial age overnight. Income from primary commodity exports will constitute the overwhelming source of foreign exchange earnings for many of these countries, for a good many years to come. The instability of this income presents major problems, while lagging trade and declining prices in commodities have been persistent for many years. Leadership toward a solution in this area is not only imperative if our economic aid efforts are not to be frustrated, it also provides us with a golden opportunity to demonstrate our genuine concern and our willingness to play a part in facing up to the problem.

Market expansion is one of several ways to attack this problem. For example, there are still a number of industrially advanced countries that put a heavy consumption tax on commodities such as coffee and tea. Ways must be found to induce these countries to lift such consumption taxes.

THE COMMITMENT TO ASSIST the industrial tooling up of the less developed countries, together with the emphasis we place on finding outlets for goods produced in those countries, stands in revealing opposition to a tenacious dogma of Marxist ideology. The communists have always said, and persist in saying, that it is in the interest and it is the intention of the capitalist world to keep these nations of Asia and Africa in economic bondage—confined to the status of hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Here I think we are showing once more how much of Marxist theory is obsolete, divorced from mid-20th Century reality. Marx claimed to have turned Professor Hegel on his head; now we have turned Marx on his head.

Adjustments in the advanced countries must, of course, proceed in an orderly manner and cannot be permitted to result in serious dislocations. There is need for a cushioning mechanism, perhaps through trade adjustment legislation; the advanced countries must find ways to share the burden of adjustment and to facilitate the shifting locus

of production and trade patterns between themselves and the less advanced countries. Such a shift should be in the direction of enabling the advanced economies to concentrate production in sectors where they retain their greatest comparative advantage—which, incidentally, also happen to be the highest profit industries. Any adjustment and transition, of course, is always easier during periods of full employment.

We put much stress on this "burden-sharing concept," for we feel that it makes as much sense to share the burden of economic assistance and the burden of resulting trade adjustments as it does, indeed, to share the benefits, political as well as economic, which will accrue to the entire Free World if we are successful.

In closing I feel I should return for a moment to a theme only touched upon earlier, for the good reason that it deserves a speech in itself. Why is it that this Decade of Development will be, most certainly, a Decade of Decision?

I mentioned the telescoping of historic time, the quickening pace of human events. This is why the Second Industrial Revolution must be pushed with such celerity, and why the developing nations must be brought, as rapidly as possible, to plateaus of self-sustaining growth in the 1960s.

And if we have been dealing, in this discussion, with economic facts of life, it is economics with the strongest of political overtones. For history does not operate, and people do not live, in separate categories called now political, now economic.

We Americans have a special bond of fraternity with the many new statesmen in the new nations—we were a "new nation" ourselves not too long ago. I have the feeling that some of these leaders of the political revolution in their own countries did not realize the complications that would remain; they have found the imperatives of economics to be as cruel as we have found them to be. In the first days of the excitement of national freedom, it is normal for national leaders to feel that, once they have their hands on the levers of political power, every forlorn valley can be made to bloom as a rose.

But it has not been roses all the way. Nor is it likely to be in the strenuous years ahead. Yet we do know that a process has been started that is irresistible, and these new statesmen can take heart that with our sympathetic understanding and that of other economically advanced nations, the roads that lead to better tomorrows will yet be built.

Peace Corps Trilogy

1. "Helping Nations to Rule Themselves"

HENRY S. REUSS
Member of the House of Representatives, USA

MANY AMERICANS HAVE REGISTERED great surprise at the enthusiastic response of our young people to President Kennedy's formal announcement of the Peace Corps. In the few weeks the Peace Corps headquarters has been functioning in Washington, more than 20,000 applications for overseas service have been received—even though an opening date for the acceptance of applications has not yet been declared.

Granted the impressive character of the response, why should any of us be surprised? Young people all over the world are showing that they are not entirely satisfied with the state of affairs they are inheriting from their elders. Last June the university students of Korea demonstrated their dissatisfaction with the existing order of things, and their commitment to greater social justice, when they played such an important role in bringing about a more liberal form of government there. A few weeks later, the young people of Turkey showed the same spirit when they helped spell an end to the increasingly corrupt and illiberal government then existing in that nation.

At lunch counters in the United States, it is the young people who, within the last year, have made clear their belief in the right of people of any color to eat a hamburger sitting down with people of any color; and in the same vein, it is the young people who have expressed their dedication to the ideals of the Peace Corps. I suspect that our college students, and others in their early twenties and late teens, have grown increasingly annoyed during the past several years with the Sunday-newspaper-supplement dictum that American youth is ridden with conformity, obsessed with materialism, and living only for a pension.

I suggest that the tremendous response received by the Peace Corps is a talisman of the fact that the idealism of young people wants to be turned loose on the greatest adventure and challenge of the age. They have identified themselves with the surge of developing peoples everywhere in the southern half of the world—in Asia and Africa and the Middle East and Latin America—for a little more food, a little better health, a chance to cross over to the other side of the street and to taste a few of the good things of life, an end to corruption in government, and the beginnings of democratic self-rule. In the Peace Corps they see the opportunity to join in the marriage of two very marriageable things: on the one hand, their own idealism and sense of identification; and, on the other, the terrible need, on the part of developing coun-

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The Trilogy originated as three speeches given in Washington in March-April 1961 under the auspices of The Experiment in International Living.. The recordings of the speeches, which were made from notes, and of the discussions that followed were transformed into these articles by The Experiment's* **Mansfield T. Smith,** *identified in our Biograph section.*

tries, for the kind of human help that young people can give.

It may well be that the smaller, more human things we do in our programs of international cooperation will prove more durable, more to the point, than the larger, more impersonal economic projects—the great dams and superhighways, the gigantic concrete-and-steel structures the significance of which, whatever their economic merits, frequently proves beyond the ability of native peoples to grasp.

I well recall, and with a feeling of tremendous pride, the work of four young Americans I met in the jungles of northern Cambodia. The four of them—three young men and a woman, recent graduates of American colleges —were trekking from village to village, setting up the first elementary schools the Cambodian countryside had ever known. In a hundred previous years of colonial administration, the French had educated a good many young Cambodian aristocrats at the local lycées, and later at the University of Paris; but for the great mass of the people, out in the jungle and villages, there was no such thing as reading and writing. Imagine their reaction, then, when these four young Americans appeared among them, willing to live as they lived, to speak their language, to eat their native food, to set up a school, and—above all—to impart this miraculous gift of literacy before moving on to the next village. This, to the Cambodians, was a brave new world; and they loved the Americans for it, just as the Americans loved them. The regrettable thing was that in all Cambodia, with a population 95 per cent illiterate, we had only four Americans doing this sort of thing, instead of the forty or, better still, 400 that were so desperately needed.

Out of this experience, and this realization, emerged my own commitment to the Peace Corps ideal.

HOW THE PEACE CORPS BEGAN

Early in 1960 Congressman Henry S. Reuss (Wisconsin) and the late Senator Richard L. Neuberger (Oregon) proposed legislation to establish a "youth corps." This proposal was subsequently added to the Mutual Security Act of 1960 by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as Section 307(b). It directed the President of the United States to arrange for a private study of "the advisability and practicability of a program, to be known as the Point Four Youth Corps, under which young United States citizens would be trained and serve abroad in programs of technical cooperation." At the same session of Congress, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (Minnesota) introduced a separate measure providing for the immediate creation of a "Peace Corps," but this bill was not acted upon.

In November 1960 the Colorado State University Research Foundation, of Fort Collins, Colorado, directed by Dr. Maurice L. Albertson, was designated to undertake the study. It submitted a brief preliminary report in February 1961 and a lengthy final report in May which found the program both advisable and practicable and recommended the establishment of a permanent Peace Corps.

In the fall of 1960 Senator John F. Kennedy, campaigning for the Presidency, endorsed the idea of the Peace Corps in several speeches, notably in San Francisco on November 2. After his election, he asked Professor Max Millikan, Director of the Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to study the feasibility of the Peace Corps concept. Millikan recommended in his report (December 1960) that the Corps be initiated on a modest scale.

In his State of the Union message to Congress on January 30, 1961, President Kennedy again supported the establishment of a Peace Corps. At about the same time he assigned to Harris Wofford, Jr., one of his Special Assistants in the White House, and to R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., his brother-in-law and president of the Chicago Board of Education, the task of drawing up plans for starting a Peace Corps as soon as possible. Wofford and Shriver assembled a working group within the Executive Branch of the Government, called in outside experts, met with Dr. Albertson and the Colorado research staff, and developed an operational plan.

On March 1 the President by executive order established "a Peace Corps on a temporary pilot basis" within the Department of State. Mr. Shriver was appointed its director. On April 21 the Peace Corps announced its first project: to provide engineers, surveyors, and geologists to Tanganyika for a highway development program.

Legislation to establish the Peace Corps on a permanent basis is expected to be enacted by the United States Congress during the summer of 1961. The United States Government has proposed that the United Nations Economic and Social Council at its summer meeting give preliminary consideration to the creation of an international Peace Corps.

ANDREW E. RICE

THE PURPOSES OF THE PEACE CORPS, it seems to me, are twofold. Its first and foremost purpose is to humanize our foreign policy in general, and our foreign aid policy in particular. The Peace Corps must shift the emphasis from guns and planes and tanks and the implements of war, and from the more impersonal and gigantic kinds of economic aid, in the direction of the more human kinds of aid—the aid that is linked with education, with the development of skills, and with social reform.

If one had to epitomize what the Peace Corps seeks to do, I can think of nothing more appropriate than the generous, outgoing, helpful frontier spirit that the name Thomas Jefferson evokes in the memories of most of us. You all recall the poem by Stephen Vincent Benet in which he said: "Thomas Jefferson, what do you say, under the gravestone hidden away?" "I liked the people, the sweat and crowd of them, trusted them always, and spoke aloud of them. I liked all learning and wished to share it abroad like pollen for those who merit it. I liked queer gadgets and secret shelves and helping nations to rule themselves." This same spirit of Jefferson—and of Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt as well—is the one that in a shorthand sort of way invests and informs the Peace Corps today.

The foremost emphasis of this humanizing effort, it seems to me, must be to provide an increased flow of technical specialists with a Jeffersonian spirit to those newly emerging nations in which they are so badly needed. We could usefully send far more technical people abroad than the 6,000 we now have. The latter, dedicated and productive though they are, are sufficient to meet only a small fraction of the total need.

In speaking of technicians, I would emphasize that the Peace Corps variety will not ordinarily be high-level experts of world renown, but middle experts—persons who know a good deal about their subjects, but who do not yet have the years and the practical experience of senior technicians. Their role will nevertheless be crucial, because the developing countries have a great need, not only for top-level advisers, but for lower-level "doers" as well. In Nigeria, for example, specialists are needed who can train local teachers, so that ultimately the Nigerians may be self-sufficient from the educational standpoint. But there is an equal need for classroom teachers who can take hold immediately—and the need will continue for at least another generation. Just as the Food for Peace program is designed to act as an intravenous injection so that countries may avoid starvation in their developing years, so the Peace Corps has a similar role to fulfill in supplying manpower of moderate skills to those countries that do not have that kind of manpower today.

A second and perhaps no less important purpose of the Peace Corps is to help provide a constructive outlet for the great well of idealism that exists in the American people today. One of the troubles with our foreign aid programs to date is that the average American citizen has tended to participate in them only to the extent of paying taxes, and perhaps of going to occasional meetings of his local foreign-policy group for discussions on the subject. The Peace Corps will enable thousands of young Americans to play an important and integral role in the carrying out of our foreign policy in the field. Moreover, when their two or three years abroad are over, these same young Americans will make a marvelous reservoir from which to enlarge our foreign service, in both its diplomatic and its economic aspects. And, even more, think of the wealth of understanding and sympathy they will bring back to their home towns when they return to take up their vocations as lawyers, doctors, businessmen, workers, housewives, or whatever they are going to be. Having seen what makes the world go round, they will forever after serve as more useful citizens and more energetic participants in the democratic process of helping to make and to carry out foreign policy.

WHAT WILL PEACE CORPS MEMBERS DO? This is a question frequently asked; and I suspect the answer must necessarily be, "Just about everything under the sun." Teaching, perhaps, will be the largest single job they must do. I have already sketched the dimensions of the teaching task in Nigeria; they are similar in almost every developing country in the world. What will they teach? Just about every subject you can think of, vocational and humanistic. Many will teach English. Sam Bowles, son of Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles, and Sam's wife Nancy, both of them just out of college, are today teaching English in a Nigerian high school, in what I suspect will serve as a first-step pilot project for a very typical Peace Corps operation. Other Peace Corps volunteers will work in clinics and community centers; those with engineering skills will work on schools and roads and irrigation projects; still others will perform specialized tasks in the fields of home economics, child care, food handling, agriculture, crop improvement, livestock improvement, medicine, nursing, public administration. The list of potential tasks for Peace Corps members is as long as the list of needs of the developing countries.

How big should the Peace Corps be? On this question there is a great contrariety of opinion. At one extreme is the view expressed by Mr. Heinz Rowland, a North Carolina industrialist, who suggests that we ought to have a peace army of three million young American men and women. I think the heart of the proponent is in the right place; but the idea of a corps of that size overlooks the important fact that unskilled labor is not at all in short supply in most of those countries interested in our help. Thus it is perhaps unrealistic to talk in figures of such magnitude. At the other extreme, the suggestion has been made that the Peace Corps should be very small indeed—one or two hundred people at most. This proposal, I feel, overlooks a couple of significant considerations. First, if you are going to have any esprit de corps, you must obviously have a corps. Secondly, there are organizations already in the field—International Voluntary Services and Operation Crossroads Africa, to name two excellent ones—with participants totalling more than one or two hundred.

President Kennedy's concrete proposals represent a happy compromise between the two extremes. The President envisages a thousand or so members of the Peace Corps this year. This number will grow as rapidly as possible toward the neighborhood of ten thousand—just as rapidly as definite, felt needs are proved among the developing nations. It is not anticipated, however, that the majority of Peace Corps members will be in place by next fall, but rather that the first contingents will be going out at that time. It will be some years—at least two or three—before a Peace Corps of any size is in place.

One point deserves special mention. From past experience we have learned that in most places it is a bad idea to send large teams of people into a community. It is better to send them in two's, three's, and four's, so as not to overwhelm the people of the community, and so as not to encourage Americans to hole up in their own enclave and deal only with each other. Most of the really useful work experiences abroad have demonstrated the desirability of small groups rather than large. I would hope, too, that the Peace Corps planners will make as much use as possible of the kind of family-living experience pioneered by The Experiment in International Living. If Peace Corps members are going to live in the villages, it would seem most appropriate that they live with village families. Indeed, there are no other places to live, except in American enclaves. The young Americans currently working in the pilot type of projects have lived with village families to good effect; they have already set a pattern for the Peace Corps to follow.

How are Peace Corps people to be selected? The age group is flexible, ranging from 18 to 60. This is perhaps one reason why the name is Peace Corps rather than Youth Peace Corps. It is obvious that most members will be in their early twenties, because of the demands on energy and health of work in primitive areas. There are, however, a great many retired people on the autumn side of life whose health is good, whose inclinations are idealistic, and who want to serve abroad. There should be no reason why they, too, cannot perform this act of dedication. I am speaking particularly of people such as retired physicians, for whom there is a tremendous need abroad.

To many, the youthful extreme of eighteen may seem too young. There are some interesting data on this. An excellent group in the United Kingdom has been sending young volunteers to the underdeveloped countries for two or three years now; and they find that their eighteen-year-olds are more successful than their twenty-three-year-olds. The reason given is twofold. First, the eighteen-year-olds, being younger, are more adaptable and make friends more readily. Secondly, when things go wrong, as they sometimes do, native people (and all people are native somewhere) are more likely to forgive errors by the very young than by the somewhat older.

WHAT ABOUT A COLLEGE DEGREE? By the very nature of things, the great majority of Peace Corps members will have to have college degrees. I was happy to note, however, that President Kennedy expressly said that a degree would not be a prerequisite for membership; that there are farm boys who can do a wonderful job of demonstrating modern agricultural methods even though they may lack a formal degree. Similarly, there are city dwellers—those, for example, with mechanical ingenuity—who can perhaps be persuaded to share the mechanical skills and energies that would otherwise go into "hot-rod" racing cars with some of the other countries in which they are so desperately needed.

As Harlan Cleveland points out in his book, *The Over-*

seas Americans, the qualities we must look for in Americans who will serve abroad include technical skill, political horse sense, organizational ability, and—perhaps more important than anything else—a willingness and urge to get inside the culture of other peoples. Certainly, we do not want in the Peace Corps those who are suspicious of foreigners. Neither, though, do we want those who are so taken with the rest of the world that they forget their own American heritage—the heritage of Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address—the heritage of the Declaration of Independence. But knowing these texts, and believing in them, our Peace Corps members must not preach from them. Rather, they must illustrate by their actions their conviction that all men are created equal, and that Americans hold malice toward none and charity toward all.

The problem of foreign-language competence is a serious one. It has a number of aspects. First of all, in many of the countries to be served by the Peace Corps, English is almost a primary language, as in Nigeria, and to an only slightly less extent in India. In many other countries, English is an important secondary language. In still others, as in French West Africa and Latin America, languages are spoken in which large numbers of young Americans are proficient. And in those countries in which the language difficulty is severe, we can still demonstrate valuable agricultural or mechanical techniques, a purpose for which a little language can often go a long way.

To get to the real point, however, if we want our people to teach among people whose language is, let us say, Swahili, there is no substitute for the long, arduous task of learning that language. For these specialized assignments, we must either recruit people who have already acquired these languages, or we must start training them. I would hope that, as the Peace Corps gets rolling, its program will percolate back through the college curriculum, so that there will eventually be a much greater effort during four years of college to acquire the particular languages of those parts of the world in which Peace Corps members will serve.

Married couples will be considered on a par with other people provided, first, that both man and wife have a skill (like Sam Bowles and his wife Nancy, who both teach); and secondly, that they are unencumbered by children. It is one thing to ask young Americans to go out into primitive villages to live; it is quite another to involve their children. For married people with young children who wish to serve, however, I have some hope that the regular technical assistance corps of our country's foreign service operation will soon be expanded to the point that they, too, will be able to take part.

Where should Peace Corps members be trained? They should be trained, I think, both here and abroad. Three months of the training period might be spent in an American university, then, whenever possible, three months or so at a university in the general area in which the work is to be performed—for example, the American University in Beirut, the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur, the University College in Ibadan, Nigeria.

The question often arises whether student leaders from the newly emerging countries will be asked to help with the Peace Corps. Indeed I believe they will be. They can make a tremendously valuable contribution. During the past three years I have interviewed hundreds of students from Latin America, Southeast Asia, and Africa, because they are in an unexampled position to tell us the pitfalls to be avoided. I believe such leaders are being consulted now; and the consultations should certainly take place on a continuing basis. More than that, as the Peace Corps regularizes its educational policies, I would hope that foreign students in this country will be used as resource people in courses set up to prepare our own young people for membership in the Peace Corps.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY STRESSED that Peace Corps members must live simply and unostentatiously among the people with whom they are working. I talked the other day with a young American who had just returned from three years in Liberia as a medical technician. He told me that when he first arrived in that country, he had with him a treasure-trove of four hundred cans of the processed meat called Spam, calculated to preserve life during the difficult years ahead. The first night out with his native friends, after his medical chores were done, he was treated to a meal of fried monkey meat and turtle eggs. This diet he found so delicious—after a few preliminary trials—that he adopted it as a regular thing. The Spam was traded off as an article of barter; and everybody was happy.

Let me emphasize that service in the Peace Corps is going to be just as tough as service in the peacetime army, and perhaps tougher. A Peace Corps member had better be ready for freezing cold, burning heat, mud every time it rains, dust whenever it's dry, fleas, dysentery, and all the ills the flesh is heir to when you go away from home. There have been many heroic stories written already in some of the prototype voluntary ventures that have preceded the Peace Corps. One of them involves a young American named Larry Olthaker who was out in Vietnam last year on an International Voluntary Services project. His team was building a bridge across a stream when the cable on a machine caught Larry's foot and crushed it. Larry had to be taken out on a stretcher. There were no planes and no roads to the nearest hospital, 80 miles away, where his leg was eventually amputated. He came back home, recuperated, received dozens of attractive job offers, but decided just a few months ago that the job he had started in Vietnam still had to be done. Today he is back at work in Vietnam with the people he loves, and who love him in return. In terms of the valor and heroism and devotion that will be required, Peace Corps members will take a back seat to no one in the service of their country.

An important part of living with people, it seems to me, is to avoid what has happened to a good many of our representatives abroad so far—even to some of our best ones. They tend to stay in the capital of the country rather than live in the villages. Let me hasten to add that this is partly the fault of Congress. Sometimes, because of Congressional insistence on forms and procedures, a capable technician can find himself immobilized at his desk, with no way out. In the capital city of a country in Southeast Asia, for instance, I ran into a young American irrigation expert who loved the native people, had learned their language, had lived among them, and had done a marvelous job of building and supervising irrigation projects; but there he was in the capital, forced to sit at a desk initialling papers, because of the overemphasis on paper work. I hope that the Peace Corps will have to contend with as little of this sort of thing as possible, and that its members will be out with the people to the maximum extent.

What will Peace Corps members be paid? One suggestion is that they be paid the prevailing wage in the country to which they are going. The difficulty here is that the prevailing wage for a bulldozer operator in Southeast Asia is $25,000 a year; and this hardly entails the sort of per-

sonal sacrifice the President has called for. Very sensibly, I think, the Peace Corps program as currently envisaged would offer negligible pay. However, requirements for food, clothing, shelter, travel, health, and so on would be met. In addition, there would be mustering-out pay at the conclusion of service, which would average something like the $75 a month that a private in the army now makes. Obviously, the Peace Corps should not and would not be an organization for getting rich. Compensation of the kind just described would cost the Government from $5,000 to $10,000 a year for each Peace Corps member. A program of the total size envisaged, therefore, would cost on the order of ten to twenty million dollars a year—a small fraction, one or two per cent, of the total spent annually on foreign aid.

Of course, the usual and predictable criticisms have been voiced. Opponents of the Peace Corps have already labeled it a vast boondoggle. Nevertheless, I am very hopeful that Congress will adopt the outlines of the Peace Corps substantially as projected by the Administration, and by a considerable margin of votes. I think the approval will be bipartisan; it is certainly the Administration's intention to make it bipartisan. Indeed, many Republican Congressmen have approached me about introducing companion bills. I am confident that most of us in Congress, and most of the constituents we represent, will join in approving the actions of those thousands of young Americans who are signing up in the only war we seek—the war against ignorance and poverty and hunger and disease the world over.

2. Experiment in Hot Peace

HARLAN CLEVELAND
Assistant Secretary of State for International Affairs, USA

ONE OF THE BRISKER WINDS on this New Frontier is the one that has blown us this extraordinary idea and enterprise called the Peace Corps. Actually, the New Frontier did not invent the idea, although the historians of future years will probably say they did. Rather, it merely acted as a new administration should act, by taking a fresh look at proposals already available and in some sense ripe.

During the past few years a great many people, including myself, have been grappling with the problems of recruitment, preparation, training, and supervision of Americans who are to participate in the processes of development and modernization overseas. Consequently, the Peace Corps already has substantial foundations on which to build. The foundations are by no means complete, however; and it is in that context that I would like to offer a suggestion.

My suggestion can be rendered in a single sentence. It is, in a word, that we ought to internationalize the Peace Corps idea. It's too good an idea to remain merely American. But before getting into the proposal further, I should perhaps say a word about the "state of the art" of international development, including the recruitment and training of people to go abroad and the present constitution of international organizations.

As to the first, I think we have to say that the state of the art of recruiting and training Americans to go abroad is still extremely primitive. As the co-author of what is really the only major book on this subject, perhaps I have as good a right as any to say in how primitive a state it is. The fact is, we don't know much about cross-cultural operations. We have swung the pendulum from the one extreme of thinking that you can simply go abroad and transplant American institutions, ideas, and work-ways almost wholesale, to the other extreme of saying: "Oh dear no, let's not do it our way; let's do it the way *they* want to do it." Closer examination has revealed, of course, that what the underdeveloped areas want to do is a distorted mirror image of what they think the West has already done; and further, that the indigenous cultures of Asia and Africa and Latin America do not yet offer the basis for the modernization to which they aspire.

Today we perceive a much more complex problem. We have come to realize that the whole idea of cross-cultural operations is one we have not yet studied very much; that we don't know anything very systematic about it; that there is very little research on it, even today, in the academic community; that very little research is being sponsored in this field by the government; that universities have been contractors for the government and for the big foundations in conducting operations abroad which they were not really reflecting about, even though universities are supposed to consist of reflective people. We still harbor a vague notion that the process of development to which we are contributing abroad is somehow related to what we have already been through ourselves; but we don't know the respects in which it is similar and in what respects it is different. We actually know very little, although Walt Rostow has helped to some extent in plotting the stages of economic development, viewed rather narrowly from an economic point of view.

We know practically nothing—as a matter of theory—about the stages of institutional development in societies that are growing and modernizing. Small wonder that so many of our technical people fail when they get abroad. Sometimes they fail because they lack cross-cultural potency. Sometimes they must work strictly through opposite numbers in the host country, in accordance with a rather silly theory that technical assistance must be advisory rather than semi-operational in many of the underdeveloped areas. Mostly they fail because we don't know enough about the order in which things ought to be done.

In my own field of public administration, I have been struck with the tendency of many people to assume they know the significant aspects of work-ways in the underdeveloped areas—only to find in the field that the whole history of administration as they know it in America is of little use, if any. Ours has been a history of the gradual accretion of power by state and federal governments from widely scattered, plural units of local government. This process, however, is likely to be the opposite of the administrative problem with which most of the less-developed areas are confronted. Theirs is usually the problem of too much power concentrated in too few hands—too much at the center of things. They must somehow arrange for the *devolution* of power, not the concentration of it; but devolution of power is not really something that we in the United States know a whole lot about. Indeed, we are only

now beginning to have some experience in it through the grant-in-aid, urban renewal, and similarly conceived programs through which the federal government is reaching into local communities and trying to develop initiative. At this stage, however, it is still a very primitive experience on our part, only slightly quantified, and very little theorized about.

In short, we lack doctrine in this business of devolving governmental power. It is a serious defect because we cannot be fully successful in helping to promote economic and social development abroad without a great deal more doctrine than we have in our hands and in our heads today.

ONE THING WE DO KNOW: the world is organized by countries. That is, we know it intellectually. If you look at the state of international organization for economic development, however, you find a rather curious circumstance. There is, of course, a great plurality of international organizations; and well there might be. This fact should not worry people who are as accustomed to plurality as ourselves. The United States contributes to the assessed budget of 47 different international organizations, of which the United Nations is only one. In addition, we make 18 voluntary contributions to various special programs, as for Palestine refugees, the Expanded Technical Assistance Program, the Children's Fund, and European migrants. This count does not include the extraordinary cost and effort involved in maintaining 5,000 troops in the Middle East on an international basis; or 18,000 troops in the Congo, a number that may eventually increase to 25,000. This is not to count the intergovernmental conferences in which the United States is continually involved. On an average, there is one major intergovernmental conference with an instructed American government delegation starting every day of the year somewhere in the world. If you were to add the number of significant private international conferences held in the course of a year, you would have to make that figure four a day.

In short, we have quite a web of international cooperation already set up.

But when you look at the parts of this extraordinary matrix that are relevant to the process of economic and social development in the less-developed areas, you make a striking discovery. The parts are not organized by countries in the way the world is. Instead, they are organized by rather curious categories, such as mosquitos, food, malaria, children, and money—horizontal categories that are good for analysis of the problem but do not reflect the way the real world is organized or developed.

In our international technical assistance programs, we have yet to solve the problem of how to concentrate the available skills and investment money for effective support of a development program as a whole. There is still far too much competition among the international agencies involved, and between the international agencies and various bilateral programs. In Latin American countries these days, the unfortunate Minister of Finance finds himself with roughly 30 different external agencies purveying technical assistance, investment funds, and assistance of various other kinds to him. Their multiplicity places a tremendous burden on him, his government, and his cabinet—the burden of coordinating the developed world of the West—a burden placed precisely at the point at which an underdeveloped country is most underdeveloped: its ability to coordinate large enterprises. The highest form of development, after all, is the capacity for large-scale administration. We must pay attention to the problem of organizing the international technical-assistance and investment machinery so that it fits the world the way it is—the world of country development programs.

A striking fact about the institutions that have really worked well in the less-developed parts of the world during the past ten or fifteen years is that they bear little resemblance to institutions of roughly similar purpose in the United States of America or England. Some of their financial institutions, for example, are markedly different from the kinds of financial institutions that have proved successful in either socialist or capitalist economies. Furthermore, they bear little resemblance to anything inherited from the Mongols, or from the Aztecs, or from any of the other ancient cultures indigenous to their areas. They are rather more like exercises in applied anthropology—they are social inventions. The new institutions, the new ideas, the new ways of working together that are going to have to come out of post-colonial relationships must be an amalgam of many different cultural approaches, many different kinds of preconceptions, many different kinds of workways.

One of the reasons why the Maxwell School wanted to put young Americans into African governments—inside of African governments—is that we don't know very much about the British and French administrative inheritance in Africa. Because we understand so little, it is very difficult for us to work with Africans. There is a good deal of cross-cultural confusion; but even so, we are far from having as much exposure to cross-cultural confusion in the less-developed countries as is necessary for our own education. Reducing this confusion is a fundamental first step in the institution-building jobs that lie ahead of us. It is a process that offers the really exciting challenge of this and the next generation.

My own feeling is that the more people from our society who participate in this search for new kinds of institutions, the better. And I think this is true across the whole developed world. One of the things that will tend to bring the developed world together over the longer run, to build some bridges between that part of the developed world we call the Soviet Union and its European satellites on the one hand, and that part of the developed world we call the West, will be this search that we share in common —the search for those kinds of institutions that will work in creating higher living standards and more effective government in the less-developed nations.

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND of too little doctrine, still primitive organization, and inattention to the demand for skill in social invention, we come into the picture with a bold new idea—the idea that more youngsters should be a part of this scheme of things. The essential concept of the Peace Corps is simple to state but will be immensely difficult to administer. The Peace Corps must recruit skilled and dedicated people—mostly in their twenties— and must screen and train them vigorously. Contrary to the opinion of many, the recruitment of suitable volunteers may be the least of our problems. Let me cite a case in point.

While I was dean of the Maxwell School of Syracuse University, we developed a program—just now getting under way—for placing young lawyers, graduate law students, and graduate students in public administration, in positions within the governments of African and Asian nations. They will serve a period of internship of one or two years, working for chief justices, district officers, and

similar officials—working inside the other person's workways. Professor Stephen K. Bailey, of the Maxwell School, while visiting Africa to make the necessary arrangements, explained our purpose to the lawyers and judges he met in this way: "It's as if you had a young graduate of the Harvard Law School as a law clerk, the way some of our American Chief Justices do." The reaction was always instantaneous: That would be a wonderful idea; why don't we do it?

While still in Africa, Professor Bailey wrote to a friend on the faculty of the Harvard Law School suggesting that Harvard could do something in the field of law parallel to what the Maxwell School had begun in the field of public administration. His friend returned a noncommittal letter which reached Dr. Bailey further along the route. Harvard students, he pointed out, couldn't care less about going off into the wilds of Africa for this kind of experience. They all want to work for Sullivan & Cromwell, or the closest equivalent. So Professor Bailey wrote it off as another good idea that had not worked out.

Halfway around the world and heading home, he found a special delivery letter in Honolulu, bearing a Cambridge postmark. This time his friend had this to say: "Steve: Signals off. Ignore my last letter. I dropped this idea of yours into a couple of my third-year law school classes; and fifteen of the graduating group, including some of the top students—and practically the whole staff of the *Law Review*—would like to go. What do I do next?" By the time Professor Bailey returned to Syracuse, he found it necessary to limit the competition among lawyers rather severely, since we had only one opening for a lawyer the first year. By this time, however, the fifteen aspirants at Harvard had grown to forty. We finally sent a boy over to Africa who had to hold Sullivan & Cromwell off with a straight arm; in fact, he went abroad with a firm offer of a job effective whenever he comes back.

Why this impressive response? It is, I think, a reaction to malaise in our society. It is an activist's answer to the question we are all on the verge of articulating: "After security, what?" And, perhaps, "After affluence, what?" If you know while you are still in school that the problem with which previous generations have always struggled—the problem: "How am I going to make a living? How am I going to raise a family?"—if you know that this problem is almost automatically going to be solved for you, that there is substantially full employment (at least, full professional employment), then you begin to ask yourself: "Well, OK, so I'm going to be able to live and raise a family. What am I going to do for adventure?" We are tending more and more—and youth more than the rest of us—to answer that question with the words: "Adventure, that's what."

The reason that the Peace Corps idea was such an immediate success, the reason that Sargent Shriver has been getting so much mail, the reason that the Peace Corps looms large in the public eye, even before its inception, is that it looks like an important means of organizing adventure for really large masses of people. Even so, it is going to be hard to organize this kind of overseas adventure for as many people as would want to go. The soundings taken by the Maxwell School in setting up the Syracuse Semester in Italy program—a semester-abroad program for undergraduate students—convinced us that if you could discount the advice and consent of parents and the faculty, practically the whole student body would go abroad, given the opportunity. Consequently, I can not feel worried about the problem of recruitment.

The training of Peace Corps volunteers presents greater problems. It will, I would hope, emphasize the development of their cultural empathy—their ability to see the world as others see it; their sense of organization—a realization that they are not going abroad for a purely technical purpose but rather for an institution-building role; and their perception of America as it really is. One of the requirements for the Peace Corps, in my estimation, should be that the recruit must have learned to glory in our pluralism, and not to regard it as somehow wrong that all Americans do not share exactly the same views. It is remarkable how many Americans seem almost ashamed of the fact that the prevailing image of America is one of a cacophony of democratic voices raised in democratic argument.

Thus the Peace Corps will comprise people with some rather special attitudes, who will provide additional help to the various organizations already engaged in the economic and social development process in the less-developed countries. They will be fitted into the existing pattern. The Peace Corps is not now,—nor is it prospectively—what some of the wilder of the enthusiasts have wanted to make of it—a brand-new approach to economic development, which would operate independently of other forms. The Peace Corps will provide additional, special help of a two-way sort: for the economic development process, and for the Americans who learn what cross-cultural operations are really like in US aid missions, in American voluntary agencies, in the host governments themselves, and in international or United Nations agencies.

When you begin to think through what it means to put young Americans into *international* agencies, some interesting and difficult questions pop up. Don't we have to assume that, if we place Americans in these agencies in considerable numbers, we will stimulate other countries to do the same? Don't we have to assume that the Soviets, who have copied most of the other major initiatives in American foreign policy since World War II—including the Marshall Plan, the European integration drive, and the Point Four program—will copy this one too? Can we not foresee the time when little bands of Komsomols will be coexisting competitively with the American Peace Corps volunteers?

Even at these relatively early stages of the enterprise, it seems obvious that the answer to these questions is yes. The Russian foreign-aid program was motivated to a considerable extent by ours; and to a considerably less extent, the reverse has been true. Indeed, the Russians made the same series of mistakes in their programs that we made—only about four years later, in each case. Like us, they went through a period of building monuments of concrete and steel—and of putting memorial plaques on them, identifying the donor. Usually, there was a gratitude effect that had worn off long before the monument was finished; and in a good many cases the political result was rather less than zero. In a curious sort of way, these mistakes tend to bring us together. Consequently, I don't feel that competition in this area is necessarily a bad thing. I also think it is spurring us on with this job of economic development in the underdeveloped countries somewhat faster than would otherwise be the case. And this, after all, is the purpose of the exercise.

Since the answer to the questions previously posed is yes, why not plan from the outset on an International Peace

Corps, in addition to the American effort already under way? The case for an international approach to technical assistance applies equally well for an International Peace Corps, namely, that an international agency can participate more deeply and more relevantly in a sovereign government's economic and social planning than a national agency can, and that internationally administered aid removes the stigma of cross-cultural domination from that always ticklish relationship between donor and recipient. The more we can export our good will and our good intentions through international agencies, the easier if will be for the new countries—particularly those very sensitive, very new countries of Africa—to import the technical help they need without its being regarded merely as a form of imperialism, of either the 19th-century colonial or the 20th-century Kremlin variety.

Indeed, such an approach is already being tried on a small scale. Dozens of Dutch youngsters are serving internships in the Food and Agriculture Organizations and other UN agencies all over the world. The Dutch are enthusiastic about the results. The program has provided a siphon for some of the energy of their society which had previously gone into the development of Indonesia, and which was choked off when that nation became independent. This new form of participation represents a rather constructive adaptation on their part to the new problem of dealing with the less-developed areas in a non-colonial relationship. The British have a somewhat similar problem now and prospectively. They already have colonial administrators in their 30's and 40's, with a lot of experience in economic, social, and political development in the less-developed countries, who are out on a limb right now. They like this kind of work, but the number of colonies is shrinking. The job market is not there in the old form any more; but maybe a revitalization and redirection of the market would be advantageous both to them and to the newly independent countries.

Now the whole investigation of how to update the market, and what the reactions of the host countries will be, must in part await our attempts to do it, because you can never really tell how people are going to react ahead of time just by asking them. In discussing the Peace Corps with the prospective "victims"—the countries to which the volunteers might go—I have encountered spontaneous reactions of enthusiasm, on the one hand, because the Peace Corps will help alleviate a shortage of skilled and semi-skilled manpower; and reactions, on the other hand, of being appalled at the thought of all these untrained youngsters tramping around in their back yards. Both reactions are perhaps a little extreme. We won't know for sure until the first Peace Corps teams are in the field.

The question of Soviet participation in such an enterprise inevitably comes up. From our past experience, we can guess that their role in any case would probably not be a major one. By and large, they are not much involved in our international technical assistance programs. They are small contributors both to the expanded program and to the UN Special Fund. Neither is a major operation from their point of view. They have not proved enthusiastic about operations of any kind involving decisive executive actions—the capacity to act on the part of United Nations agencies—as they have demonstrated by aiming their attacks at the chief executive officer of the UN.

THE IMPORTANT POINT would be for most of the developed world to participate, and to begin to make available and to train a whole generation of people to *live* in a different kind of world, a world in which the old patterns—including not only colonialism but perhaps business ownership in the developed world operating in the underdeveloped world, or western forms of missionary effort—won't work any more. A whole new generation of Americans is going to have to grow up inventing new kinds of relationships, with new kinds of institutions, that reflect the equality of people instead of their inequality. The question I raise is, of course, whether that is enough—whether we should not make this same kind of opportunity available to people in other countries—whether the teaming of Americans with people from other countries might not be better experience than their going abroad with other Americans.

In this regard I should state that I do *not* think of an International Peace Corps as an alternative to an American Peace Corps, but rather as another, broader way of pursuing the same objective. I don't see any conflict between the two ideas. We need to get rid of this fallacy that there is some kind of inherent conflict between the bilateral approach and the multilateral approach in the field of economic development. We are going to be taking both approaches on a large scale for a long time.

If we start thinking in terms of an International Peace Corps as well as an American one, it is not difficult to project some of the needs for more junior help in the international technical assistance program. Suppose we can develop some machinery under the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to recruit and build international teams in which American youngsters would work side by side with British, French, Russians, Brazilians, Japanese, Indians, and others. Here are a few—I repeat, a few—of the ways in which these International Peace Corps volunteers might be used.

- In the case of United Nations operations, they might serve as staff assistants and technician helpers in support of particular UN programs. At present, for example, the work of United Nations Resident Representatives—the coordinating people who are responsible for the expanded technical assistance programs and for the UN Special Fund activities in each country—is severely handicapped by lack of help, especially office help, of every kind, from "leg men" to typists, messengers, and chauffeurs. Volunteers might also help in the growing amount of work involved in developing statistical services and in the expanding business of community development in many lands.

- The Unesco education program, which is going to concentrate in Africa this next year or two, might use Peace Corps volunteers as teachers or teachers' helpers and might put some of them to work in the actual building of schools with native materials, using cheap and efficient designs already developed. For some volunteers, a particularly exciting prospect might be to help in the archaeological digs in the Upper Nile Valley—part of Unesco's attempt to save some of the Nubian monuments that would otherwise be lost forever under the waters of the pile-up behind the Aswan Dam.

- The International Labor Organization might make effective use of volunteers in its manpower training programs on the lower and intermediate levels, and in its contributions to community development programs, such as the Andean Indian program.

- The World Health Organization might offer a chance to participate in its widespread malaria eradication and sanitation efforts, and in the child health centers that it is developing in cooperation with the Children's Fund.

- The Food and Agriculture Organization is already using volunteers from various countries and might use a great many more in several of its operating programs—notably, in the fight against animal diseases, in locust control, and in some aspects of agricultural extension work and food preservation.

The work will not be easy. It does not take very much skill, but it takes a good deal of dedication to go about the countryside jabbing the flanks of animals with inoculation needles or spraying hovels with DDT. But for Americans to do these things in company with people from other countries would doubly intensify the experience; and it would help a whole generation of Americans to learn not merely how to work *for* but how to work *with* others.

If we think the Peace Corps idea is a good one—and by the hundreds of thousands we obivously do—let's experiment with it in our international institution-building. As a change from the cold war, as a change from the dreary and unnecessary debates over Cuba's wild charges or the Kremlin's bitter attacks on the United Nations, as a change from all this cold-war maneuvering, let's experiment with a *hot peace* instead. Why wouldn't a proposal for a United Nations Peace Corps be a good place to start?

3. Patterns & Problems

GORDON BOYCE

IT IS THRILLING AS WELL AS EDIFYING to observe the depth of the pluralism of this society of ours. After twelve years of experience in the educational-travel field within the United States, I thought I had a fairly good grasp of the extent of private-agency participation in this country. I was wrong. Since my appointment as director of private agency relations for the Peace Corps some two months ago, I have interviewed or corresponded with more than 130 private agencies throughout the country—and it appears we have only scratched the surface. I had only an inkling before this of the number, kinds, motivations, and operations of these myriad agencies, which incidentally include a significant number of labor and nonprofit business groups. (It was our discovery of the latter groups that led us to change the original designation from "voluntary" to "private" agencies.) These agencies offer an invaluable store of wisdom, experience, and resources on which the Peace Corps may draw in planning and carrying out its programs.

The current concept is that Peace Corps volunteers will work at what might be called the occupational service or operational level, falling somewhere between unskilled labor—which the underdeveloped countries have in abundance—and the relatively few, highly skilled technical advisers that the United States and other countries have been able to provide for assistance in programs of economic and social development. Into this great, semi-skilled area will go our Peace Corps volunteers, in a spirit of dedicated service, to work with host country counterparts abroad.

Their participation will be programmed in five ways.

- The first is to initiate new, direct-action government programs, through which the Peace Corps itself, on invitation of other countries, will marshal Peace Corps units to accomplish particular teaching jobs such as malaria control, community development, the teaching of English, or any one of the many relevant tasks that our volunteers can be trained to do within a reasonable period of time.
- The second is to program volunteers into existing government operations. An ICA team in Africa, for example, might implement or expand its program by the addition of trained volunteers, which the Peace Corps would provide on request, in the required numbers.
- The third is to channel volunteers into United Nations activities. We hope ultimately to supply volunteers for work in various United Nations programs throughout the world.
- The fourth is to draw on our colleges and universities for program participation, with the Peace Corps assisting in the development or expansion of projects, in various countries, that are consonant with the Peace Corps concept. As a matter of fact, several universities are doing this sort of thing already.
- The fifth option is to encourage participation by private agencies, by encouraging them either to initiate new programs or to expand existing programs along Peace Corps lines throughout the world. The President and Sargent Shriver have shown great wisdom, I think, in giving top priority to the encouragement of participation by universities and private agencies in order to limit direct government involvement to the extent possible. Under this concept, the government would become involved in direct program action only when universities or private agencies could not meet a request, or could not supply the necessary personnel, for a particular job.

How, then, might a private agency participate? There are a number of variations. An agency already running a Peace Corps type of program abroad might come to us with a request for assistance in developing or expanding its existing activities. Peace Corps volunteers might then be used to swell their ranks in those underdeveloped countries in which programs are already established, or they might become the nucleus for setting up similarly conceived programs in other countries. Another variant might be the agency with a considerable amount of experience in underdeveloped countries, with a program diverging somewhat from the Peace Corps concept or from Peace Corps standards but offering strong points and capabilities of particular interest and value to the Peace Corps. Such an agency might submit a new project proposal for Peace Corps endorsement and support—a project capitalizing on its special talents but modified to measure up to Peace Corps standards.

Finally, many private agencies can offer special services of a horizontal nature, such as training sites, personnel selection instruments, leadership training programs, and foreign language instruction, on a contractual basis.

IT MIGHT BE EMPHASIZED at this point that private-agency participation entails complex problems. If The Experiment in International Living, for instance, should submit a program proposal which was eventually approved, what would you call the participants? Would they be Experimenters, Peace Corps volunteers, Experimenters in the Peace Corps? The question sounds a bit superficial until you realize that what you call the program indicates your decision as to who is finally responsible for the person who loses a life abroad or comes down with an incurable disease, and as to who feeds and houses the volunteers abroad.

Another interesting problem is raised by the numerous missionary operations currently in the field. Many of these fall within the Peace Corps scheme of things—except for the possibility that they might proselytize while engaged in a Peace Corps enterprise. I could name offhand a dozen or so denominational programs with no policy of exclusion

for reasons of race, creed, or religion, directed by men who are entirely willing to stipulate that they will not seek converts under the Peace Corps banner. They have had vast experience and offer wonderful examples of effective performance in the field. What happens, though, when a Peace Corps unit representing a particular religious denomination scrupulously refrains from proselytizing during the week but on Sunday invites host nationals to join them as they turn to worship their own God? Are they proselytizing or not? Would it be unconstitutional, illegal, or unwise to offer a grant or contract to a religious organization of this nature? And if we make a contract with such an organization, even though its members are careful not to proselytize, are we replacing funds that they would ordinarily use for this purpose, thereby allowing their missionary activity to increase elsewhere? This is the kind of problem that besets us as we get deeper into our planning.

Still another problem area centers on the relationship of business enterprise to the Peace Corps. Already, a number of businesses have offered to continue the salaries of young employees who volunteer for the Peace Corps. We cannot accept such offers, however well intentioned. Other businesses have wanted to contribute tractors, housing, earthmoving equipment. We cannot accept these contributions, either. Individual businessmen have sent donations, which we are obliged to return. These examples highlight the knotty problems to be resolved in bringing our business community into the Peace Corps. How can we do it without raising the live possibility, or the lively suspicion, that business participation is motivated by the expectation of some future financial gain?

These complex problems of participation by religious and business organizations might best be solved by establishing a private, independent Peace Corps Foundation. I would hope that when enabling legislation is written, it will make provision for such a foundation, which could legally accept grants and gifts from government, industry, business, other foundations, and individuals. A foundation of this kind might also work with business and religious organizations having valuable and feasible programs to offer along Peace Corps lines, even though some aspect of their work might disqualify them for governmental support.

ONE OF THE MOST STIMULATING ASPECTS of the Peace Corps, certainly, is the quality and intensity of the discussion it has engendered. Sometimes, though, I find myself swinging somewhere between ruefulness and irritation at some of the same questions that keep cropping up—valid questions, but asked in a tone that clearly implies that the Washington bureaucrats undoubtedly are not thinking about these fundamental things. Much is heard about the thousands of Peace Corps volunteers, but little is said about the able Peace Corps staff, which daily wrestles with problems of impressive complexity. Little is heard, either, about the dozens of experts from all over the United States who spend hours and days in consultation with Peace Corps staff members, contributing their specialized knowledge to the solution of these problems.

One of the first questions we are asked—and assuredly one of the most important—is "what are we doing about selection?" In fairness, I must admit that I arrived in Washington myself with the conviction that the Peace Corps would have little trouble in agreeing on selection processes with private agencies, because some private agency selection programs were already so good that they would very likely be better than the government's. This is not true. The selection section of the Peace Corps is developing batteries of interviews and of psychiatric, physical, and subject-matter examinations so rigorous that some of those private agencies most proud of their selection standards are going to be hard put to get their people accepted. Qualification for service in a particular country, language proficiency, physical stamina, previous intercultural or interracial experience, motivation, intellect, skill in human relations, perception of own culture, the whole range of characteristics the skilled interviewer looks for—these are some of the things that will be examined. In short, the Peace Corps staff is not overlooking the fundamental necessity of sending the right kind of people abroad.

In answer to another common question, the same professional approach holds true for training. I am frankly overwhelmed at training programs proposed for Peace Corps volunteers, in preparation for their arduous but unexciting and unspectacular lives abroad. Again, I think that many well established private agencies will have difficulty in producing training programs rigorous enough to meet Peace Corps standards. Training programs will generally be of two types: orientation on life in the host country concerned; and specialized training, to the semi-skilled level, in such subjects as public health—washing babies, administering shots, digging sanitation ditches, applying more complex public-health techniques to the local situation—the useful things that an intelligent person can learn to do competently in a day, a week, or two months at most.

As indicated, the programs will emphasize a particular country, and they will run from two to six months, depending on the nature of the project and the host-country situation. Private agencies with Peace Corps projects will be required to submit a detailed syllabus of their training programs for examination as to adequacy and appropriateness; the Peace Corps must give its approval in each case. There will not be a standard syllabus, or a time limit for training, or standard subjects. Each program will be tailored according to private-agency capabilities and host-country needs. A great many private agencies are already thinking in terms of providing part of their training programs abroad, so that more use may be made of real-life rather than purely academic situations.

In terms of fulfilling host-country needs, two approaches will be made to selection and training. If, for example, a country in Africa needed 30 semi-skilled engineers, two bulldozer operators, and five surveyors, the Peace Corps would try to recruit young people with these specific skills, and would train them in how to apply these skills in the given host-country situation. If, on the other hand, an Asian nation needed semi-skilled workers for its community development programs, the Peace Corps might consider the proposal of a private agency to recruit from its "alumni" a sufficient number of persons with past successful experience abroad to staff a project in that nation. These persons could then be taught the basic community-development skills essential to the project.

THE ANSWER TO ANOTHER frequently asked question should already be evident. The Peace Corps is of course primarily concerned with satisfying the needs of the host country, according to its preferences. It would be impossible for any Peace Corps project to succeed without the agreement, or perhaps the active support, of the host-country government. (In a few countries, I migh add, the presence of strong support would seem to be less important than the absence of vigorous opposition.) As a matter of fact, invitations have already been forthcoming from a number of nations. In this regard, I might point out that one of the

advantages of private-agency participation is that formal invitations for their projects may not be needed, as they would be for each of our government operations, since the projects would merely be variations or extensions of programs already functioning successfully in those countries.

We are often asked whether Peace Corps volunteers will discuss politics. To the extent that they are intellectually curious, I suspect they will want to hold political discussions with nationals of the host country. I don't think we should try to put a muzzle on them—nor should we permit them to propagandize politically. The Peace Corps is not intended as an arm of the Cold War. Ours is a service mission. It is an educational mission as well, as far as our own people are concerned, for they will surely learn as much as they teach.

We are also asked about the cost of all this. Won't it be a great drain on the taxpayer? In partial reply, I might say that the first-year budget for the Peace Corps, covering all our operations both here and abroad, is less than the cost of three Atlas missiles. If we can run the Peace Corps successfully for a year for less than the cost of three trial runs of the Atlas missile, I have a feeling that the taxpayer's dollar will be pretty soundly invested.

Well, then, shouldn't we be cautious about too rapid growth? Aren't we trying to launch a spectacular program too quickly? Aren't we likely to make serious mistakes as a result? Aren't we likely to fail completely? The answer is that we probably will make mistakes. Our task is to keep them to a minimum. The President has set a target of 500 to 1,000 Peace Corps volunteers in the field by next January. I know of one private organization that handles almost three times that many every year—on a different program, true, but nevertheless related. It does not seem to me that 500 to 1,000 is excessive in view of the resources, public and private, available to the Peace Corps. In fact, I know a few private agencies willing to tackle that many alone.

Finally, there is the inevitable question—more of a reservation—about the Peace Corps as a form of wild-eyed idealism. I don't really know why we always hear that adjective "wild-eyed." I'm becoming impatient with it. I see nothing in idealism that is necessarily synonymous with fuzzy thinking or an impractical approach. To the contrary, I glory in the idealism implicit in the idea of selfless service abroad at the occupational level; and I am proud that Americans, young and old, are going abroad to demonstrate our respect for useful work in all its forms, and our supreme respect for the worth and dignity of our fellow men.

Perhaps I can best illustrate what I mean by defining the spirit of the Peace Corps. We are going abroad to learn, to live, and to love, as much as we are to teach; and unless we are so motivated, the Peace Corps will fail. The spirit of the Peace Corps is best articulated, I think, in all its magnificance and humility, in First Corinthians, Chapter 13, verses 1-3: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, as a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge, and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." The analogy for Peace Corps service is clear.

Certainly we shall make mistakes; but as I have said, we will try to keep them to a minimum. After all, we are only in our infancy. Still, everything seems to be running in favor of the Peace Corps. Most of the reservations one hears seems to be passive. We have strong leadership from the President. We have kindled the public imagination. We have a list of volunteers desperately wishing to serve. The success of the Peace Corps now rests fully in the hands of the people who manage it. On them the Peace Corps will stand or fall. On their wisdom, prudence, experience, and capabilities the success of the enterprise depends. They are men and women who have the motivation and the spirit of the scripture I have just quoted. I have no fear that they will fail to rise to the challenge.

Presidential Address, 1961 Conference of SID

THE CHANGING COURSE OF INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE

P. S. N. PRASAD

I SHALL CONFINE MY REMARKS to the role of international assistance in economic development as a free-world exercise; and what I say will necessarily be subjective—my own personal and individual views, which have no necessary connection whatsoever with any views and ideas of the World Bank, of which I have still the honor of being an employee, or the Government of Nigeria, of which I happen to be the Economic Adviser.

First I would like to turn to some of the very significant changes that have taken place recently as regards both the basic philosophy of economic assistance and its organizational structure.

The President of the United States conveyed in his message to Congress on March 22nd a statement that I am sure must be very welcome to the underdeveloped countries. It outlined in precise terms the attitude of the world's most highly developed industrial nation—a nation that has also undertaken the task of persuading other industrial nations to make sacrifices for providing sizeable assistance for economic growth. Judged as the statement of a leading country, the broad aims and policy goals the message outlines are, in my view, comparable to the lofty sentiments

expressed in the original statement on the Marshall Plan many years ago. It was particularly noteworthy that Mr. Kennedy placed the accent on the *moral* obligation and put it ahead of the political and economic obligations that he mentioned as resting on the advanced countries to assist the less developed countries to grow economically. This statement restored to the United States attitude toward economic assistance the valuable note of idealism that characterized US foreign policy for many years but that had been lost in the recent years when military and strategic considerations pushed economic idealism into the background.

The President's clear-cut emphasis on the separation of economic from other forms of aid is also very welcome, especially to countries with some kind of economic discipline and well considered plans for development. These are the countries that in the past received a disproportionately limited attention in terms of assistance in relation to the worth-whileness of their economic programs. Also, the relationship that the President has sought to establish between economic assistance and sound economic programming provides at once an acceptable criterion and a logical basis for the aid programs.

Particularly welcome to underdeveloped countries, I feel sure, is his proposal for emphasizing development loans repayable on a long-term basis and at relatively low interest rates. A suitable effort at complementing conventional development financing with assistance based on these terms will greatly accelerate the pace of development in many countries.

The underdeveloped countries will, I believe, also watch with great interest the results of the United States lead in organizing Europe to provide economic assistance. In some European countries, at least, there is a new awakening, even a new idealism (particularly among the people themselves as distinct from governments) in the attitude towards underwriting the needs of the less developed nations.

Most of the underdeveloped countries, I am sure, will watch these newer trends in Europe with considerable satisfaction because in the minds of nations that are or were colonial, some at least of the European countries have been regarded as more efficient in the arts of taking away than of giving away resources. One hopes that it may be possible to persuade these countries to accept the idea of providing assistance to the underdeveloped world generally rather than on the basis of spheres of influence, and likewise as an agreed, reasonable proportion of national income. It would be very much in the interest of the underdeveloped countries if they were not regarded as sheltered markets in the traditional colonial pattern but were opened up for free competition in trade and investment. Such a breath of fresh air would hasten development and the day of self-dependence. Of course, serious problems would still remain—lack of education and technical skills, shortfalls in administrative ability, and so forth in the underdeveloped countries, and problems of adjustment in trade and investment and balance of payments in economies that depended on colonies. Both kinds of problems, I submit, should increasingly become the concern of internationally organized assistance.

ONE SOMETIMES HEARS IT SAID that the giving of aid by Europe should be regarded as conscience money or a kind of recompense for the guilt of colonial exploitation in the past. Any such use of past actions as a basis for measuring future benevolence could hardly be useful or practical.

On the other hand, if the countries that are now collectively described as the free world (though in some cases the term is euphemistic) have not only to stick together but grow together, the industrialized nations among them would have to accept the evidence of history on one point. That is that the wealth of the nations with an organized industrial base steadily accumulates; that this wealth is relatively stable; that the relative trading strength of these countries expands steadily during peace or war; and that the countries producing primary products, including those with agriculture as the basic occupation, have to contend with vastly greater problems of instability, price fluctuation, weather, quick changes in techniques, and the emergence of synthetics. Yet, with all these changes, the primary producer remains an essential link in the chain of the world's economic activity. Without a reasonable and stable income for him the wheels of industry would not turn, and the ships would not carry the commerce of nations. He is an essential partner, if necessarily the more frail of the two partners, in the enterprise of an interdependent world economy.

Just as in the United States, through various expedients, a pattern has developed in which the industrial sector supports the economic activity of the farmer, underwriting his living standards, it would appear inevitable that in the long run enlightened self-interest will justify the development of a concept of partnership to ensure stability and sustain each other's economic strength as well as economic growth. It would seem increasingly necessary that statesmen and economists should see more and more clearly the emerging outlines of a world economy and emphasize less and less the clashes and sharp conflicts of national and even subnational vested interests.

AGAINST SUCH A PERSPECTIVE one is sometimes distressed to meet with the expression of views that have their origin in calculations of private interest groups. With reference to public international aid programs for the African countries, for instance, one is told either that in their present situation the African countries cannot absorb aid in significant quantities or that the African people do not understand those who give them something for nothing—that in fact they have a better understanding of the methods and practices of the river traders of the last century.

Whether or not this is true, African countries, like those in any other region of the underdeveloped world, differ vastly as between one nation and another, including differences in the capacity to carry through development programs and utilize aid. But in the case of most of them there is little doubt that there is room for a considerable inflow of international public economic assistance. In such fields as health and education, transport and power and communications, so much slack has to be taken up that rapid expansion of public investment is both feasible and necessary for the very stability of these nations. In the case of at least one African country of which I happen to have some knowledge, the governing power accumulated vast reserves abroad on the ground that opportunities for investment were not available in the country. At the same time, there was not a single college for the training of *elementary* school teachers, a few of whom were being sent at considerable expense, and social dislocation for the teacher, to the distant "mother" country. Nor were any opportunities provided for education in commerce, banking, technology, administration, politics, or agriculture.

The infra-structures in many of these countries also call for considerable investment by governments. The development of existing infra-structure has been planned in some

cases with an eye solely on the development of exteral trade, while in others even this is in a backward condition; and the development of facilities such as local transport, feeder roads, power for domestic and industrial uses, irrigation, and financial institutions has hardly been touched except superficially. It is impossible for these countries to finance the necessary development out of their own resources. There is room too for a considerable investment in the private sector from both domestic and foreign sources. In a number of newly independent African countries, there is no doubt in my mind about the capacity for usefully absorbing a sizeable amount of external assistance.

AS WITH ECONOMIC, so with technical assistance. I believe there is everything to be gained and little is to be lost by widening the international character of the latter. The help that has been provided bilaterally by some of the developed countries has much to its credit. But in many underdeveloped countries there is a considerable feeling of disappointment with the achievements of technical assistance, and no small amount of waste is involved in needless duplication, competition, and jealousy among countries and agencies providing aid.

Technical assistance is a noble concept and it will succeed best only when offered for its own sake and in the spirit of a missionary endeavor. There is a widespread belief, especially in some of the countries of Africa, that technical assistance, especially of the bilateral variety, is offered by some countries not in this spirit but rather in an effort to retain some of the positions of privilege in the economic and administrative organizations of countries that have recently achieved political independence. Whether or not this is fact is not so important as that the belief continues to undermine the good that inheres in the exercise of technical assistance. As in the case of economic assistance, therefore, if technical assistance also is placed on a multilateral basis and is offered increasingly through international institutions, the cause as a whole would stand to gain immensely. The more such assistance can be rationalized and internationalized, the more good it is likely to do, with considerable economies in cost even to those who bear the major financial burden.

In this matter there is also room for much improvement in utilizing the skills available in some of the less developed countries themselves for providing such assistance to other developing nations. The accent at present laid on the giving of aid bilaterally precludes the use of such skills even though it might be both economical and productive to employ them. Similarly, would it not be better if the so-called Commonwealth assistance were provided not only by United Kingdom nationals but by using skills from all parts of the Commonwealth with all its variety of color and experience? In this arena even more than in the matter of economic aid, it should be increasingly possible to sustain the *international* character of assistance and increasingly offer it through the United Nations and other responsible international channels, with decreasing emphasis on the bilateral and the somewhat narrowly nationalistic aspects.

NOW TO TURN TO ANOTHER ASPECT of the problem of international assistance: While the present proposals for collaboration between the more advanced countries on the principles of this assistance are desirable and cannot be open to objection, it would, I think, be appropriate to try in the course of time to bring about a change in two directions. One is to make the underdeveloped countries increasingly partners in the work of formulating principles rather than continuing to build up complex categories of patrons and wards. There is certainly an understandable need for the aid-giving countries to consult in privacy, but over the longer period it should not be difficult, especially for the free countries, to confer on principles and the programs around a table and in the open. After all, the considerations that decide the merit or the lack of merit of proposals affecting the donor and the recipient are of general validity as well as general interest, and the more the discussion of such proposals is made universal and public, the more it will be in accord with the self-respect of the community of free nations.

Equally, again—though this remains very much of an ideal for the moment—one would like to stress the inevitable relationship or the obvious conflict between the world's ability to underwrite the needs of economic growth and the inhuman waste of the expenditures on armaments. Our generation may not live to see the end of this colossal spending for defense equipment that may never be needed for defense. But today these expenditures do make unavailable the resources needed to irrigate parched areas of potential economic growth and develop the arts and commerce of peace. On the other hand, the realization of such a dream may not be as far off as it appears to us today. At least the people of the underdeveloped countries, for whom this conflict between the unfortunate armaments race and the much-coveted investment for economic growth is all too vivid, cannot but press for moderation and tolerance in international relations and for a persistent endeavor to find ways to reduce or eliminate the waste of resources involved in the current rivalry between the two major industrialized sections of the world.

Why and How to Develop

MODERN SMALL INDUSTRY

EUGENE STALEY

LARGE FACTORIES are a characteristic feature of a modern industrial economy, but they are not the whole of it. Not all manufacturing is more economical on a large than on a small scale, even in countries where markets are wide and industrial technology most advanced. In the United States more than 90 per cent of the manufacturing establishments have fewer than 100 employees. These relatively small factories employ 26 per cent of all manufacturing employees and produce 22 per cent of the total value added by manufacture. In Japan, nearly 60 per cent of manufacturing employment is in establishments with fewer than 100 employees.

Development planners in most newly industrializing countries have paid too little attention to the benefits to be gained by helping existing small industry to modernize and by stimulating the growth of new, modern small industry. Often the attitude is that small-scale manufacturing is an inevitably backward and lagging part of the economy, perhaps to be aided for social reasons and in a rather

defensive or protective spirit, but not to be regarded as a promising opportunity for development. A latent resource has thus been overlooked and neglected.

Lately, however, many countries have shown interest in developing a modern type of small industry. Among the countries that the United Nations classes as "underdeveloped," India has by all odds the largest, most comprehensive, and the best planned program. Japan, at a further stage of industrialization, has evolved a wide array of measures. The United States has an active "Small Business Administration," which supplements many aids provided through other public institutions and through the private business system. The Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, Germany, the United Kingdom, France, and other European countries have adopted a variety of measures with different emphases, sometimes focusing on the financial needs of small manufacturing units, sometimes on technological and managerial training and productivity improvement, sometimes on product design and marketing. In Puerto Rico there is a very active industrial development program, and a large proportion of the enterprises assisted under it are small units. A number of Latin American countries—Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, and others —have special banking institutions designed to stimulate small industry, and also industrial development centers and productivity centers. Pakistan, the Philippines, and the Federation of Malaya are experimenting with techniques of small industry promotion. Nor is attention to small industry confined to countries that favor private enterprise. Reports from mainland China indicate much emphasis on a nationwide continuing campaign to establish and improve small, local manufacturing plants.

Types and Role in Development

ONE OBSTACLE TO CLEAR THINKING about the role of small industry in industrial development is the confusion over use of terms. To some, "small-scale" in manufacturing means establishments with fewer than ten persons. To others, it means establishments having up to 500, or for some purposes in some industries 1,000 employees. In our program of small industry development research at the Stanford Research Institute, we usually mean by "small industry," manufacturing establishments with fewer than 100 employees. We prefer, however, to think in terms of certain functional characteristics of small industry: relatively little specialization in management ("one-man" management); lack of access to capital through the organized securities market; no special bargaining strength in buying or selling in a major market; and often, though not always, a relatively close integration with the local community, through local ownership and management and dependence on near-by markets and sources of supply.

These characteristics give small industry certain disadvantages and certain special needs for types of advice and aid that are not so much needed by large manufacturing firms. They also confer some advantages, chief of which is flexibility. The close personal contact that "one-man" management makes possible between the top manager and production workers, customers, suppliers, and owners, can, if the manager is good, be a source of strength. This characteristic goes far to explain why, and in what kinds of manufacturing, modern small industry can compete successfully.

It is essential to distinguish a number of types of small industry, for these different types have very different prospects as a country transforms itself from a traditional, preindustrial into a modern industrial economy.

One important distinction is that between traditional small industry and modern small industry—the latter defined as manufacturing units in which reasonably good application is made of the best science and technology currently available. It is *modern* small industry, or movement toward it, that holds promise for newly developing countries.

It is also important to distinguish between household industry, artisan industry, and small factories. Household industry is manufacturing carried on in or near the home, mainly by family labor. It is sometimes called cottage industry, though more properly this term might be reserved for rural household industry. This oldest form of manufacturing is still important in many countries that are striving to modernize, and undoubtedly it will continue to exist for a long time. But I believe that the long-term trend in developing economies will be for household industry to disappear, save for a few special functions. Among these are part-time supplementation of the income of farmers or mountain dwellers, as in Sweden and Switzerland; providing work for the handicapped; special types of handicraft; and leisure activities of an artistic or quasi-hobby sort. But for purposes of regular production of manufactured goods, the place of household industry in a modernized economy is and should be limited, for it is an inefficient method of production and is subject to social abuses that are practically impossible to control, such as low rates of pay, long hours, and child labor. Newly industrializing countries will do well to regard their household industries as a temporary form, to be supplanted over the long term by geographically decentralized small factories, artisan workshops located outside the home, and large factories.

Artisan industry is manufacturing carried on in workshops by craftsmen working singly or with a few hired helpers or apprentices and without extensive division of labor. The potters, weavers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, bakers, and other ancient crafts are examples of "old line" artisan industry. As an economy moves toward modern industrialism, the outlook for artisan-type activity is, on the whole, rather favorable. "New line" artisan activities arise with modern industry and modern technology. They may not involve manufacturing as such but rather provision of services, as in automobile and truck maintenance, repair and servicing of radios and other electrical equipment, and photographic work. The rise of these new branches has belied predictions that were common a half-century ago in the then industrializing countries of Europe that factory competition would lead to the disappearance of the craftsman. The highly industrialized, modern economies of today seem, on the contrary, to be using increasing numbers of new types of craftsmen who supplement rather than compete with factory goods.

The long-term problem of the newly industrializing countries would therefore seem to be to help their artisans to adjust themselves to new functions. Village blacksmiths must learn to install and repair irrigation pumps and diesel engines, skilled weavers to concentrate on designs and qualities not readily reproducible by machine, shoemakers to turn to shoe repairing. Not all the old line craftsmen will be able to make such adjustments, however; many of them, or their sons, must be guided into entirely new occupations (for example, as mechanics or electricians) for which the demand will rise as development proceeds.

The small factory is distinguished from artisan industry by its greater division of labor and the consequent need

for planning and coordination. The manager rather than the craftsman becomes the central figure.

How can a small factory, lacking a staff of specialists and with limited access to capital, compete against large, highly organized, highly capitalized firms? The answer is that while many small factories can and do compete successfully, others do not compete directly with large factories but rather serve as a complement to them. Here are four ways in which the small factory can manage to coexist successfully with large industry:

• It can outcompete large industry, in well chosen products, in certain circumstances. The well known economies of scale are much more important in blast furnaces and cement kilns than in the making of furniture or garments or machine tools. Bricks and tiles can be produced more economically in relatively small, local establishments than in a great central factory that would incur high shipping costs. Small manufacturing establishments have an advantage in meeting highly specialized or individualized demands or in catering to a small-volume market or one requiring frequent quick adjustments because of style changes or for other reasons. Where labor and social laws are applied more stringently to large than to small plants, as is often the case, especially in newly industrializing countries, this may be a factor, whether or not a desirable one, in the competitive ability of small plants.

• The small factory can "fill the cracks" between the large-volume, standardized outputs of large industry. Near Madras, India, I visited the thatched-roof factory of Rapid Cycles, a small firm with about 30 workers. Two years later, when I visited again, employment had grown to 100 workers and there was an excellent new building with modern equipment. Yet only a few miles away was the very large plant of T.I. Cycles, Ltd., manufacturing bicycles with the collaboration of a well known British firm. How could the small enterprise compete so successfully? It was not, in fact, competing directly. Instead of the standard-size bicycle, it was producing a junior size, also tricycles and tricycle-mounted delivery carts. The proprietor said he had no difficulty selling all he could produce.

• The small factory can produce components and supplies for large industry. One of the reasons for the efficiency of industry in the United States is that large plants integrate their production with the production of hundreds or even thousands of other plants, both large and small. The Ford Motor Company in a recent year purchased from an estimated 20,000 different suppliers, the United States Steel Corporation from 50,000, and the Eastman Kodak Company from 3,500. A large part of Japanese small industry produces on subcontract for large industry.

• The small factory can initiate new products and sometimes grow with growth of the market for such products. Henry Ford and other pioneer automobile manufacturers started on a very small scale. The electronics industry today is bursting with small firms, as well as large ones, hopefully exploiting new ideas. In countries where industrial diversification is at an early stage, small-scale manufacturers may find opportunities in introducing products that are new to the country, though not necessarily new in the world.

Benefits of a Modern Small Industry Sector

THE POLICY IMPLICATIONS of the preceding analysis may now be summed up.

First, development leaders in countries striving to accelerate the rate of industrial advancement will do well to give attention to the constructive possibilities in modernization and growth of the small-industry sector. A country will have the most productive industrial structure when it has an interwoven combination of large and small units, the place of each determined on the basis of economic efficiency.

Secondly, as a country moves through the transitional stage from a traditional toward a modern economy, the outlook is for household industry to be *replaced,* for artisan industry to be *transformed,* and for the small but modern factory to be *developed.*

Thirdly, in encouraging development of small factories, careful selection of suitable products and situations is essential. The suitability of a given product for small-scale manufacture will vary from country to country, from one part to another of the same country, and from time to time as the country develops. Provision for continuing analysis of specific technical and economic factors is therefore advisable in small-industry development programs.

Even in highly industrialized economies, small industry continues to play a significant and valuable role. In newly industrializing economies, the contribution of a vigorous, modernized small-industry sector, if such a sector is encouraged to develop, can be relatively even more important. The size of the market for nearly all kinds of manufactured goods is smaller. Markets are more broken up into relatively isolated sub-markets because of the comparatively inadequate development of transportation and communication. Also, there is likely to be a scarcity of people experienced in managing large operations, and among the workers the habits of industrial discipline necessary for the success of large-scale factories are likely to be less well established.

Industrializing countries that devise ways to encourage the modernization and growth of their small-industry sectors can thereby tap resources of capital, of entrepreneurship and managerial talent, and of labor that would otherwise not be effectively available. Perhaps the most important of these resources is entrepreneurship. An active, modern, small-industry sector should function as a seedbed of entrepreneurship, out of which will spring latent talent for organization and management, which may, in some cases, graduate into medium-scale and large industry.

Small industrial units may play a useful role in new regional development, industrial decentralization, and growth of rural or small-town industry. Vigorous growth of small industry can help to build a more truly competitive and less monopoly-ridden private sector, and this in turn reduces the burden on the government of having to regulate and watch the private sector in detail. There are sociological and political advantages in encouraging small modern industry, namely, the growth of a middle class of independent, smaller-scale businessmen. This is a desirable balancing element in a society that values democratic self-rule.

Designing a Small-Industry Development Program

SUPPOSE THAT THE RESPONSIBLE OFFICIALS of a country in course of development want to initiate a program to encourage modernization and growth of small industry, or perhaps to supplement and integrate a number of more or less uncoordinated measures already under way, so as to achieve a revitalized small-industry program. Three guidelines can be suggested.

• The program should not be modeled directly on that of any other country. Basic conditions affecting small-industry opportunities and needs vary considerably from country to country, as do government policies, the accepted roles of the public and private sectors of the economy and relationships between them, administrative traditions and capacities, and the existence of public or private organizations capable of carrying out development programs. Hence, each country requires a program tailor-made in general approach and in details to fit its own situation. Suggestive ideas from many countries should, however, be sought; some of these may be taken over, but always with appropriate adaptations. The annotated bibliography and the directory of organizations listed in the references that follow this article will be helpful in this connection.

• A small-industry development program should be reasonably comprehensive. Usually it does little good merely to set up an institution charged with making capital and credit more readily available to industry without, for example, doing anything to improve techniques of production and managament. An action program, to be effective, must simultaneously push outward on a considerable number of limiting factors. Which factors are most strategic in the circumstances of a particular country must be determined by preliminary study. Usually the limiting factors so revealed will be multiple, and the action program will need to be a broad, integrated one, so that each kind of assistance reinforces the other kinds and is reinforced by them. Also, the need to provide for the following services or functions should be considered and the relative urgency and feasibility of the necessary action should be evaluated.

A favorable environment for industrial growth.
Advisory services and managerial training services.
Industrial research services.
Measures to improve small industry financing.
Common facility service centers.
Industrial estates.
Marketing aids.
Contracts and assistance by large firms.
Government purchases.
Quality control systems.
Improved procurement of materials and equipment.
Consolidation and cooperatives.
Mutual self-help through industrial associations.

• Responsibility for developing and coordinating the small-industry program should be placed in one administrative agency, whose head should be granted the authority and budget to enable him to elicit the cooperation of other organizations. Preferably, this agency should be charged solely with the task of promoting the development of small (or small and medium-scale) industry. If this is not practicable (and it may not be in a small country, especially where administrative and technical personnel are in short supply), the responsibility for small-industry development should at least be given organizational expression in a special division of a broader development agency. Small industry has problems and needs that are somewhat different from those of large industry. Also, where an administrative agency is charged with advancing industry of all sizes, the problems of small industry are likely to be neglected.

The initial program, if it is at all extensive, should include a built-in provision for staff training, especially a regular system of in-service training by means of seminars, conferences, and occasional study tours abroad. There should also be built-in provision for periodical, or even continuous, evaluation of the program as a whole and of its principal methods and activities. These provisions will facilitate correction of mistakes, which will surely be made, and will help to improve and expand the program as it proves its worth.

References

THE FOLLOWING STUDIES on small-industry development are products of a research program carried on at the International Industrial Development Center of Stanford Research Institute, assisted by a grant from the Ford Foundation. The purpose of the research program, which is closely coordinated with practical field work in cooperation with development agencies in newly industrializing countries, is to clarify the role of small industry in economic development and to identify the most effective methods of fostering modernization and growth in the small-industry sector.

BOOKS (available from the publishers indicated)

Small Industry—An International Annotated Bibliography. Marian Crites Alexander-Frutschi, compiler. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960. 218 pp. $6.00.

Small Industry Development Organizations—A Worldwide Directory. Donald R. Liggett, compiler. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959. 137 pp. $10.00.

Managers for Small Industry—An International Study. Joseph E. Stepanek. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960. 245 pp. $6.00.

Small Industry Advisory Services—An International Study. Joseph E. Stepanek. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960. 193 pp. $6.00.

Industrial Estates—Tool for Industrialization. William Bredo. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960. 240 pp. $6.00.

Aiding Small Industry through Government Purchases. Kennard Weddell. Menlo Park, California: International Industrial Development Center, Stanford Research Institute, 1960. 51 pp. $3.00.

Industrial Entrepreneurship in Madras State, India. James J. Berna. Bombay, India: The Asia Publishing House, 1960. 240 pp. Rs. 18.00. (Also available from their New York office, 119 West 57 St., New York 19, at US$6.00; or from their London office, 447 Strand, London, W.C.2, at 45s.)

Economic Research for Small Industry: India's Experience. S. Nanjundan, E. Robison, and E. Staley. Bombay, India: The Asia Publishing House, 1961.

PAPERS (available free on request from the International Industrial Development Center, Stanford Reserch Institute, Menlo Park, California, USA)

Small Industry Development. Eugene Staley. 1958. 26 pp.

Notes on Small Industry and Handicraft Development in Mainland China, 1952-1958. 1958. 55 pp.

Rural Industrialization for Agricultural Development. William Bredo. 1959. 21 pp.

A Means of Assisting Small Mining Operations. George V. Mueller. 1959. 12 pp.

Small Industry in Economic Development of Contemporary Countries. Stanislaw Wloszczowski. 1960. 61 pp.

The Center has in preparation an international comparative study on the problems and methods of financing small industry, a manual on communications in industrial extension work, and a general treatise on "Modern Small and Medium Industry for Newly Industrializing Countries."

A Frustrated Ambassador

THE AMERICAN TEXTBOOK ABROAD

GORDON GRAHAM

FIFTEEN YEARS AGO US textbooks were virtually unknown in the classrooms of the world outside of the United States and its possessions. Today they are known, but it is the knowledge of distant respect, not the familiarity of daily use. Students are eager to buy them; professors are willing to recommend them; publishers are more than ready to sell them. But separating these would-be collaborators is a gulf wider than the oceans that the books must travel to their destinations. Publishers call it cost and the students abroad call it price.

The American textbook publisher has little to complain about in a statistical sense. His export business has multiplied ten times in fifteen years. But the faster it expands the

more he realizes that he has only a toehold on the market. As he surveys all the schools and colleges of all the countries, he becomes a village grocer dreaming of a national chain of supermarkets. In fact, he feels loftier than that, because he believes, and no one has yet ventured to contradict him, that his is a type of merchandise higher than the ordinary, food for men's minds, not their bodies.

And he has a lot of evidence to support him. As he matches his sales with the political graph in the 80 or 90 countries where the American textbook is sold, he observes that textbooks and tyranny appear to live together in inverse proportion. Revolutions, generally, are good for business. Argentina has been a better market since Peron; so has Venezuela since Jiménez and Egypt since Farouk. Sales to communist lands are poor with two exceptions—Poland and Yugoslavia. Sales to colonial lands are poor with no exceptions. Countries that achieve national independence use, during and following that process, more American textbooks. Post-colonial India, Indonesia, and a dozen other countries, not to mention post-recovery Japan and Germany, nor to dare to omit post-1948 Israel, all supply dramatic proof of that.

The students of the world are the revolutionaries of today and the leaders of tomorrow. As events of the past few months have proved in Korea, Turkey, and Japan, the political power of the student can be ignored by a government only at its peril. The American textbook abroad is thus directed to the hands of a man who is vital both to the future of his country and to the future of relations between his country and the United States of America.

This fact has not escaped the United States Government. The International Cooperation Administration and the United States Information Agency look benignly on expanding textbook sales overseas, and participate in them, for here are aid and information of the best kind, directed to the mind of the individual, bought with his own money, and sought on his own initiative. Furthermore, books abroad are pioneers for the general export trade. "Trade follows the book."

IF THIS WERE THE WHOLE STORY, the business of exporting textbooks would be all profit and glory. But every Eden has its serpent. Too often the morning's mail finds the export manager gloomily reading yet another letter from an American teacher in Asia, Africa, or Latin America informing him (1) that American textbooks are badly needed and (2) that they are impossibly expensive. What is the publisher to do? Alas, it costs no less to produce a book for sale in a country where a dollar is the average daily wage than it does to produce the same book for sale in the United States where one can earn a dollar in fifteen minutes. In addition, export discounts to bookstores are higher than home discounts, an expense which the publisher and his author share. The publisher's sense of mission, whether strong or slight, may permit him to conduct his export business at a reduced profit, but rarely will it permit him to work at a loss.

Two possible answers to this dilemma have been explored. One is subsidy, private or public. The International Cooperation Administration has done most in this direction, recognizing that textbooks are a tool in an aid program. The United States Information Agency, though less liberally budgeted than ICA, also does what it can by presenting and lending books to help the overseas student. Various foundations have similar programs.

The usual method of subsidy is to place multiple copies of recommended textbooks in college or faculty libraries. But there is a limit, both to the beneficence of the donors and to the effectiveness of such assistance. The book does not become the property of the student, and its effect is thus temporary. And, psychologically, no student will value a free book as highly as one for which he pays money, within his means.

Needed textbooks are frequently provided under contracts involving teacher exchange between overseas and home universities with ICA or Ford Foundation money. There are now 150 such programs operating from 100 American universities, in about 30 countries. Some percipient American professors abroad have set up libraries that lend the textbook to the student against a nominal fee and give him the option to acquire it by paying a little more at the end of the course, the total paid amounting to perhaps forty percent of the book's price.

Another possible solution is being tried in Japan, where several college textbook publishers have produced photo-offset editions, using Japanese labor and materials, at costs that enable them to cut US prices in half. These editions are sold in Asia only, principally in Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia, and India. One textbook on economics reprinted in this way has sold sixty thousand copies in Asia over a period of three years. But reprinting in Japan, or elsewhere in Asia, can never be more than a partial answer because there are many books that are badly needed by Asian students but not in numbers that would justify offset editions.

How about paperbacks? Expatriate Americans bitterly ask traveling publishers' representatives why the USA cannot produce cheap textbooks when it can and does produce *Lolita* and *Lady Chatterley's Lover* at 35 cents a copy. Again the answer lies in the relatively small numbers of textbooks needed. Also, they get hard wear. Textbooks pass from hand to hand, either by library loan or by repeated sale. Even if given paper covers, they still have to be stitched at the spines (not merely gummed).

IT IS PHYSICALLY POSSIBLE to produce a hard-cover textbook at the price of a popular paperback. All that is needed is cheap labor, cheap paper, offset presses, and a willingness to rob the author and publisher of their property. All of these factors exist on Taiwan, where piracy, or unauthorized reprinting as the Chinese prefer to call it, has grown over the past ten years into a considerable industry. The recent appearance of Chinese reprinted editions of US textbooks on US campuses has thrown the spotlight on this peculiar type of expropriation.

For more than ten years US publishers have tolerated piracy on Taiwan because it was confined to the island or nearby Asian markets. The Chinese publishers, with the tacit backing of their officials, the active encouragement of their educators, and the sympathy of some Americans, have assumed the mantle of benefactors defying exploitation. But penury has never justified theft. Chinese students are indeed penurious, but no more so than students of other Asian countries, who have been helped by their own governments and that of the United States to obtain their textbooks by less questionable methods. The Indonesian Government, for example, pays half the cost of every textbook a student buys.

Officialdom in Taipei, in cooperation with able foreign service officials of the United States Embassy, is anxious to dissociate Nationalist China from a practice that it shares only with Communist China and the Soviet Union, though these two countries largely confine their piracy to translation in their own languages. Taiwan is the only country in the world now engaged in wholesale copying of the books

of other nations. Japan used to have the same problem, but thanks to the work of a leading Japanese publisher and book importer, deterrent punishment is now provided under law.

Piracy, whether checked or unchecked, is a symptom of the cost malady, for which the Universal Copyright Convention is a suppressive rather than a cure. Reprinting of US editions in Tokyo has already illustrated one legitimate treatment. In India and the Philippines, schemes for local reprinting with some help from funds accruing from Public Law 480 (under which agricultural surpluses have been sold to these countries against rupee or peso payment) are being discussed between the governments and the publishing industries of these countries and the USA.

A danger of low-cost production, whether achieved by subvention or the use of cheaper materials and labor, is that it creates a cheaper image of a book and frustrates the sale of all books not offered at the low price level. The paperback has in a sense done this in the United States, but it not only is cheaper than a hardbound book, it looks cheaper. An Asian reprint looks very much the same as the American original. By confining Asian editions to textbooks of proven usefulness to Asian students, who are quite unable to buy at the US price level, the publishing industry hopes to serve the market at two levels, somewhat as paperbacks and hard-cover editions serve two levels of book demand in the USA.

ANOTHER HEAD OF THE SERPENT is currency. The dollar is still one of the least available currencies of the world. Most countries of Asia, Africa, and South America do not have favorable trading balances with the USA. As a result, quantitative and, occasionally, tariff restrictions are imposed on the import of American books. When a country is in a bad way economically, the import of books may be totally suspended.

Here an ingenious and for the most part successful answer has been devised in the Informational Media Guaranty Program of the United States Information Agency. For a small expenditure of the taxpayer's dollar, large values of books have been *sold*—at their full prices—in countries where they would otherwise not be available.

IMG works like this:

- The US Government, through the USIA, gives a publisher a contract guaranteeing that if he sells $10,000 worth of his product in, say, Pakistan and puts the money into a US Treasury account in Karachi, he will be paid the equivalent amount in dollars from Washington.
- The publisher sells the $10,000 worth of books, for which Pakistani book-sellers pay him 47,500 Pakistani rupees, at the official rate of exchange. This he duly deposits in the US Treasury account with the State Bank of Pakistan. He gets his dollars.
- The United States Information Agency (which administers IMG) now has to sell these rupees to another agency of the United States Government that has occasion to spend money in Pakistan. The sales proceeds, once more in dollars, go back into the IMG revolving fund for re-use.

Thoretically, this program should not cost a cent, as the publishers pay one percent of sales for the privilege of using the program and this defrays its administrative expense. Unfortunately the USIA can seldom recover its dollars at the official rate of exchange, and sometimes cannot reconvert foreign currencies even at an unfavorable rate, so the revolving fund gets smaller and smaller. It got so small two years ago that the agency had to go to Congress for a replenishing appropriation. With endorsements of the program by several US ambassadors and others, an appropriation of $2.5 million was obtained, not enough to keep the program going at the level of demand in the ten countries now participating (Philippines, Vietnam, Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan, Israel, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Spain). IMG is thus a shrinking asset in the balance sheet of American interests abroad.

Closely allied with the shortage of dollar exchange is the extension of credit. Whether by choice or compulsion, credit in the international book business is liberal. The booksellers of the world are not heavily capitalized; their turnover is not rapid; and many of their customers are slow to pay. In recognition of this, American publishers give terms of credit which their colleagues in the steel or automotive industries would consider to be lunatic. The sums are not large, though—at a guess—about $12 million is owed at this moment by booksellers of the world to the US publishing industry. "Bookselling," it has been said, "is a pleasant way to make a little money." Most booksellers live nobly up to this dictum and almost invariably possess less liquid cash than traders in other types of business. And very often, even if a bookseller is willing to pay, the currency restrictions of his country make it difficult for him to do so.

COSTS, CURRENCY, AND CREDIT frequently give aid and comfort to a fourth form of adversity in the book export business—competition. In the friendly sense, the principal international competitors are the British, who not only lead the world market for textbooks in the English language, but whose export experience is so long that they could, if they wished, recall piracy by the United States as one of their earlier problems. The publishing industries of every other country are also competitors in varying degrees. These range from the large industries of Germany or Japan or India to the nascent industries of small countries where publishing sometimes gets its start from the pressure of the high cost of the imported product. Polite plagiarism is not unknown in such countries. The "textbook" may consist of mimeographed lecture notes synthesized from several leading books and produced and distributed at the cost of a few cents.

Some of the competition has another selling point—books written in the language of the country, and with local conditions in the author's mind. Although there is more academic instruction in the world in English than in any other language, vast student markets are closed to US textbooks in the Spanish-speaking world, France, Italy, Germany, Japan, and other countries—except in translation. On the other hand, the knowledge of English throughout the world is increasing at an astonishing pace. In some countries, the textbook can be in English even if the national language is the language of instruction. This is especially true in the countries that do not have large textbook publishing industries of their own—for example, Turkey, Indonesia, or Sweden. And in the other countries, by selling translation rights, the US publishers can compete with the textbook publishers of these countries on their own ground.

There is one competitor who cannot be met on his own ground and who is venturing with increasing enterprise onto the grounds of others, undeterred by cost, currency, credit, or competition. The Russians have come a long way from the days when their ideas of book infiltration were typified by a Morocco-bound biography of Lenin at ten cents a copy. A Soviet biology textbook (in English) recently supplanted an American book at the Faculty of Agriculture of the University of Indonesia. It was priced without reference to its cost. It was imported through the diplomatic bag.

Payment is made in rupiahs, which go to the support of the Indonesian Communist Party. Soviet textbooks in engineering, also in English, are to be supplied to India as part of a current technical aid agreement. These are only two examples of a form of competition that is going to be hard to handle.

The primary Soviet book effort is in the important Asian and African languages. In this area, American books scarcely begin to compete, though the work being done by the United States Information Agency and, in Moslem languages, by Franklin Publications, Inc. (a cooperative venture of the American publishing industry and other interests), could be a signpost to greater effort. It is little short of tragic that while the Soviet textbook program in English gathers momentum in the usual monolithic manner, the one government-sponsored program which has proved that it can help American publishers to sell books abroad is withering for lack of Congressional support. The British meanwhile have shown their concern by getting Parliamentary support for a modest exchange guarantee program of their own.

The Russians, as too often seems to be the case, are posing the question while we are trying to find the answer. The question is: If the textbook is indeed a vital ambassador of ideas, can its propagation be left to the conscience of private enterprise? Or may we assume that if the idea is as good as it looks, then it must also be able to pay for itself? Millions of students in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have a stake in the answer, and so have the American people.

GEOGRAPHIC PATHOLOGY OF CANCER

LUCIA J. DUNHAM, M.D. & HAROLD L. STEWART, M.D.

CANCER OCCURS IN EVERY RACE OF MAN and in every known region of the world. For a long time, however, a variable geographic frequency of cancer at different organ sites has been recognized. Thus primary cancer of the liver is one of the commonest forms of cancer in parts of Africa, whereas cancer of the bowel is one of the least common; the frequencies of these cancers in the United States of America are reversed. Other types of cancer that are unusually frequent in other geographic areas are cancer of the mouth in India, cancer of the back of the throat in China, and cancer of the bladder in Egypt. To shed some light on the factors that account for these differences is the problem of geographic pathology.

The geographic pathology of cancer is a scientific discipline in which the distribution of the disease is compared among peoples of different racial, ethnic, national, or social groups. Physical and physiologic traits and the social and environmental conditions of these peoples are also compared. Studies in geographic pathology involve the efforts of investigators trained in biometrics, epidemiology, sociology, pathology, and other fields. Although the results seldom give direct information as to the causes of cancers, well planned studies yield clues for further investigation of cancer in man or for experimentation in the laboratory.

By way of illustration, some of the recommendations of a conference on cancer that was held in Egypt in 1960 may be cited. Participants were from South Africa, Mozambique, and the United Arab Republic. Cancer of the liver is uncommon in Egypt but accounts for half the cancers in Mozambique. In both areas the livers become infested with schistosome eggs because of the prevalence of the disease Bilharziasis. This leads to scarring of the liver in both Mozambique and Egypt, but there are differences in the distribution of the scars. One variety of scarring, Laennec's cirrhosis, which is sometimes associated with cancer of the liver, was found in 64 percent of scarred livers in Mozambique but in only 16 percent in Egypt. Discussions at the conference uncovered a number of basic differences between the two countries, such as types and quantity of food, the use of alcohol, and parasitic diseases other than Bilharziasis.

It was concluded that the diseases, nutrition, and customs of Mozambique Africans and Egyptians should be thoroughly studied and rigorously compared. Laboratory investigation of the chemistry of damaged livers and of parasite-infested animals on different diets might also throw light on the difference in the reaction of the livers of Egyptians and Mozambique Africans to infestation by the schistosome. Other disciplines such as parasitology, virology, and toxicology should also be employed to investigate these problems.

SOME CANCERS that show geographic variations have known causes. Among these are skin cancer in white persons who have suffered chronic damage from prolonged exposure to sunlight, and skin cancer in Kashmiri Indians who have been burned by Kangri stoves carried next to the body. The causes of some cancers are known to be occupational or industrial, such as chimney sweeps' and mule spinners' cancers. Chimney sweeps' cancer occurs on the scrotum as a result of continued exposure to soot and sweat in chimney sweeps who do not bathe. This cancer did not occur in Copenhagen following the governmental order that chimney sweeps take baths regularly. Mule spinners' cancer occurs on the skin of the abdomen, thighs, or genitalia of workers who over long periods of time have been splashed with carcinogenic oil. The oil is used to lubricate the mechanical spinners in the weaving industry. Lung cancer occurs many times more frequently in chromate workers than in the population as a whole. Thus cancer can result from conditions of both primitive and industrial societies.

Unfortunately the causes of more than 98 per cent of human cancers are still unknown. The rapid changes that are taking place in occupation, nutrition, customs, and habits point to the urgency for studies in the geographic pathology of cancer before changes in environmental influences are effected. The outcome of studies in geographic pathology should be a better understanding of the causes of cancer and better tools for its control. Just as it has been possible to eradicate many infectious diseases as their causes become known, the cancerous diseases are also vulnerable to such knowledge.

Sound methods for studying geographic variations in

chronic disease are a development chiefly of this century. Whereas the collection and reporting of hospital data on cancer were once considered sufficient for such studies, it has gradually become apparent that these data were selected or biased in such a way that valid comparisons between geographic areas were impossible. Now known to be essential in studies of the geographic pathology of cancer are the following procedures:

- Define the limits of the geographic area and describe the size and composition of the human population from which the data are drawn.
- Collect data on cancer and on the characteristics of the affected people as completely and accurately as possible.
- Use comparable descriptive terms, means of diagnosis, and statistical methods.

Actually the census and survey methods that are employed for studies in more highly developed countries are often unsuited for the collection of data from underdeveloped countries. Populations may be estimated, however, by determining representative samples. For obtaining other information, methods that are closely related to local conditions must often be devised. For instance, investigators who work with public health officers engaged in a program of mass vaccination can at the same time detect among those who appear for vaccination those persons who may have cancer. Or the age of a patient, when unknown to him, may be estimated by exploring his memory of a local event, often a catastrophic event, such as a war, pestilence, famine, flood, or drought. Aerial photography was used to determine the size of the population in the native areas around the city of Lourenço Marques in preparation for a survey of cancer rates in Mozambique Africans. Although African natives live in scattered huts, maps derived from the photographs made it possible to conduct an accurate survey of the population structure.

SCIENTISTS IN COUNTRIES of each continent and on many islands have collaborated in the development of techniques, and have planned, conducted, and reported numerous investigations. International cooperation in demographic studies of cancer was first put on a sound scientific basis at the Conference on Geographic Pathology and Demography of Cancer held at Oxford in the summer of 1950 by the Council for the Coordination of International Congresses of Medical Sciences. An attempt was made at that time to standardize techniques, and new studies were promoted.

The International Union against Cancer (UICC—Union Internationale contre le Cancer), at a meeting in Lisbon in December 1951, strengthened an earlier Committee on the Geographic Pathology of Cancer under its International Cancer Research Commission. Meetings of this committee were held during the next ten years in India, Belgium, Brazil, Italy, Africa, England, and Japan. Their purpose was to disseminate information and statistics on current projects, plan new projects, and communicate with interested inevestigators the world over. Membership in the committee and its subcommittees represented many national groups. The activities of the committee included:

1 Liaison and coordination of efforts. When the Director General of the World Health Organization (WHO) and members of his staff were consulted in 1953, they expressed an interest in coordinating routine WHO activities in underdeveloped countries with studies in the geographic pathology of cancer. Formal discussions were held at Geneva in June 1955, when the use of registry centers for cancer was considered and also possible collaboration with the International Labor Organization and the Food and Agricultural Organization. Recommendations were made for improving the education and training of pathologists. In June 1957 a WHO study group convened in Oslo to explore the possibility of setting up international centers for developing precise definitions of the different types of cancer with a view to establishing a uniform nomenclature throughout the world. To date three such international centers have been established—in Oslo for lung cancer, in Washington for soft tissue tumors, and in London for breast cancer. Liaison was established also with the International Society of Geographical Pathology and the International Geographical Union. In addition to defining and mapping study regions, there were many areas of common interest. The distribution of diseases other than cancer, the composition of the soil, and climatic conditions may all be related to the cancer problem.

In 1953 officers of the Committee on the Geographic Pathology of Cancer sent letters to editors of scientific and medical journals requesting that they encourage the publication of basic data on cancer from various countries, and suggestions for presenting these data were made. Specific national organizations that were approached for assistance in studies were governmental health agencies, bureaus of vital statistics, cancer societies, cancer research institutes, and universities. In some underdeveloped countries, various individuals who could supply information or collect study materials were asked to help. These included doctors in mission hospitals, tribal chiefs, medicine men, and in one study, school children who collected a native vegetable, imifino, which is viewed as a possible cause of one of the frequent types of cancer in Africa. The possibility that edible plants might cause cancer has been proved by the development of liver cancer in rats after feeding with Senecio plant substances or a certain species of pepper. Thus botanists too lend their knowledge to the solution of problems in geographic pathology.

Needless to say, the means for obtaining funds for studies in different countries were a continuing concern of the committee, especially since some countries that have the least money are likely to be excellent regions for studying certain cancers—for example, the nearly epidemic cancer of the jaws in African children in Uganda. In Denmark the famed Danish Cancer Registry, even although located in a well developed country, has such a great potential for investigative studies that funds for its support are contributed by countries other than Denmark. The committee has explored national sources of support for cancer research and has made recommendations for the use of available funds. Support has been obtained at one time or another from the universities, private and governmental granting agencies, and scientific institutions and medical schools of more highly developed countries.

2 Methods and techniques of study. These were discussed, amplified, and improved at the meetings of the committee. The suitability of techniques of survey, registry, and sampling were explored in relation to the type of cancer that was being investigated and the source materials for information within a particular country. Under the joint auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and WHO, the Council for the International Organization of Medical Sciences sponsored the meeting of a special study group on methodology held in Paris in 1957. Geographic pathology was defined and its methods were described. "A Cancer Survey in Johannes-

burg, 1953-1955" was outlined to illustrate some of the methods.

3 Special symposia and meetings. A symposium on lung cancer was convened at Louvain in 1952. Possible causes of this cancer, such as smoking and air pollution, were discussed, and were examined in the light of the results from experiments with animals.

Two symposia were held in Africa in 1956. At Kampala 27 delegates from 13 countries participated in reviewing the situation in Africa with respect to cancer of the liver. Evidence was presented that the frequency of liver cancer, while generally high in native Africans, nevertheless varies considerably from region to region. The disease appears to be most frequent in two widely separated areas of the continent, about Dakar and about Lourenço Marques. Primary cancer of the liver occurs chiefly in the males from 20 to 40 years of age, in whom it runs a rapidly fatal course. Liver parasites, toxic food or drink, infectious hepatitis, and the nutritional disease called kwashiorkor were discussed as possible causes. The second symposium, held at Leopoldville, explored cancer in general south of the African Sahara. Aside from cancer of the liver there are other cancers that are common to native Africans and these are not the same as those of American Negroes. A hemorrhagic malignant tumor of the skin called Kaposi sarcoma, tumors of the salivary glands, and cancer of the skin of the leg associated with tropical ulcers are frequent in native Africans, whereas cancers of the stomach, lung, and large bowel are relatively rare. In the American Negro the frequency of these cancers is reversed.

The African subcommittee of the Committee on the Geographic Pathology of Cancer met in Johannesburg in 1957 and in Leopoldville in 1959. At Johannesburg it recommended that cancer surveys be conducted in parts of South Africa, French West Africa, Portuguese East Africa, the then Belgian Congo, and Ruanda-Urundi. Certain local variations in the composition of the soil or the type of diet were discussed, and practical suggestions were made for financial support for such investigations. Participants at the meeting in Leopoldville reviewed progress in current studies and also proposed new studies. Under discussion were means for obtaining funds and personnel to set up an intensive investigation of two unusual cancers. One of these, cancer of the esophagus, is so common in some communities of the Transkei region of South Africa that it is recognized by the native Africans and has been given a name, umblazawombiza. Some native Africans claim that it is caused by a black spider. Among the requirements for studying this cancer are a sound knowledge of such subjects as toxicology and anthropology, and local tribal etiquette and ritual taboos. The other unusual cancer is a rapidly fatal malignant lymphoma of the jaw of children, rare throughout most of the world but found in a broad belt stretching across east and central Africa from Uganda into the Congo.

The occurrence of certain cancers over broad belts of Africa is especially interesting. For example, cancer of the esophagus occurs in high frequency in the region of South Africa bounded by Capetown, East London, Johannesburg, and Durban. In near-by Lourenço Marques this cancer is virtually unknown. There has recently been a suggestion, however, that cancer of the esophagus is frequent in Salisbury, Rhodesia, indicating that the esophageal cancer belt moves inland north of Durban to reach Salisbury. Its northern limits may extend into the Congo, but remain to be delimited. The exact configuration of this belt will

Three Proposals for

MORE AGRICULTURE IN WORLD AFFAIRS

JAMES G. PATTON

President, International Federation of Agricultural Producers & the National Farmers Union

1. World Food Conference

AT THE FOUNDING CONFERENCE of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers in London in 1946, many of us were already convinced that the food problems of the world could never be met except by (1) a broadly based world food policy involving land systems, farm income, and international trade, and (2) machinery to make stocks of food available from areas of abundance to areas of need.

Later in the same year, the first Director-General of FAO, Sir John (now Lord) Boyd Orr, formally proposed the establishment of a World Food Board.

However, the proposal was not acceptable to governments—particularly to the governments of the principal trading nations. And subsequent attempts to establish machinery under the United Nations for seeing that the world's great potentiality for food production is realized, that the food is distributed throughout the world, and that the producer is adequately rewarded, have met with only limited success.

In response to the Orr proposal, there began a series of efforts to this end, as follows:

- FAO Preparatory Commission on proposal for a World Food Board—1946-47.

Action: The proposal worked out by the Preparatory Commission was not adopted by FAO; instead, the Council of FAO was established in 1947 as the main body concerned with the world food question in the periods between FAO conferences.

- ECOSOC Resolution calling for International Conference on Trade and Employment—18 February 1946.

Action: Havana Charter (Havana UN Conference on Trade and Employment, November 1947 to March 1948) partly implemented by incorporation in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

- ECOSOC Resolution that UN adopt principles of Chapter VI of Havana Charter and asking Secretary-General to appoint Interim Coordinating Committee for International Commodity Arrangements (ICCICA)—28 March 1947.

therefore have to await further investigation where present-day turbulence impedes studies in geographic pathology.

In 1958 a symposium on the worldwide distribution of cancer of the stomach was held at Copenhagen. Cancer of the stomach occurs frequently in Japan, Iceland, and Finland, where its incidence is four to five times greater than that in the white population of the United States of America. In the South African Bantu living in the townships around Johannesburg cancer of the stomach occurs only one-fourth to one-fifth as frequently as it does in the non-white population of the United States, most of which is composed of Negroes. These striking differences in the occurrence of cancer of the stomach in the same and different races, and in different geographic areas of the world, provide ideal material for studies in geographic pathology. Geographic distribution, habits of food and drink, other diseases of the stomach, the results of experiments in the laboratory, and suggestions for future studies were reviewed.

The subcommittee on Geographic Pathology of Cancer for Latin America held its first meeting in Bogotá, Colombia, in 1960. The meeting was attended by representatives from eight Latin American countries. A study of cancer of the esophagus was proposed for southern Brazil and Argentina, regions in which this type of cancer is believed to be unusually frequent. An investigation of cancer in native Indians, natives of Spanish extraction, and groups of immigrant persons was also suggested.

Worldwide studies in the geographic pathology of cancer should be encouraged, since they constitute one productive frontier of the effort to comprehend and control a chronic disease that increases in frequency wherever public health measures have increased the life span of man.

Action: When ECOSOC decided in 1954 on the establishment of the Commission for International Commodity Trade, the commodity review functions of ICCICA were transferred to it.

• FAO Conference, Fifth Session: Report on World Commodity Problems—November 1949.

Action: The FAO Council in mid-1949 convened a group of experts who formulated proposals for an International Commodity Clearing House (ICCH). FAO member nations, when examining the proposals for ICCH in June 1949, did not find it possible to accept them.

• FAO Conference, 1949: Establishment of (purely) Advisory Committee on Commodity Problems (CCP).

Action: Committee on Commodity Problems, concerned with commodity stabilization and specialized negotiations, meets once or twice a year, has established active commodity groups.

• UN General Assembly, February 1952: Resolution 525, Food and Famine.

Action: FAO studies on World Emergency Food Reserve and proposals for Emergency Food Reserve Unit (EFRU). No follow-up action taken.

• U. S. Senate Resolution 85—March 1955.

Action: Proposed that President of the United States should negotiate, through UN and other international channels, an agreement for creation of a World Food Bank from which member nations could borrow food or fiber, or both, and repay such loans when able in kind, in other raw materials, or in cash.

Each of these steps has ended, more or less, in arrangements resting on normal commodity and trade relations, with actual food needs in vast areas of the world (as related to abundance in other areas) dependent in large measure upon bilateral and sporadic efforts.

No proposal for permanent multilateral machinery has been accepted by member governments of FAO, to which, in each instance, resolutions defining need and calling for action and machinery have been referred.

In each of the FAO conferences, attention has been given in dramatic fashion to the gains in productivity and in the meeting of food needs on the part of the various member nations.

From time to time, reviews have been made of land policies, farm credit, price stabilization, marketing services, trade agreements, research, and technical assistance. Much of this tells a dramatic story of the total effort of the FAO to close the production gaps so prevalent in much of the world.

These efforts have also at last brought into sharp focus the most pressing of all problems for farmers, and for the millions of consumers around the world in both advanced and advancing nations. This is the absolute necessity for establishing an over-all world food policy, and the machinery that can bring abundance to the peoples in need. There is need for universal acceptance among the developed nations of the fact that the two inescapable necessities for applying our abundance to food needs are an *international agency* and *money*.

Today, most of us still believe and are fighting for the basic concept that the earth can feed her people.

Today, the world faces, and primary producers face, the same challenge we faced in 1946—that is, how can we, the primary producers, produce sufficient food and fiber to feed and clothe a hungry and naked world?

In New Delhi, in 1959, the IFAP adopted a resolution on an International Food and Farm Policy which points a way out of the stalemate and frustration of the last decade and a half. In essence, the resolution states that the farmers of the world can produce the food and fiber necessary for the physical well-being of all people if the proper international arrangements are made for seeing that the resulting supplies are actually distributed to those people. And it emphasizes that such arrangements should provide for continuity of programming—not just sporadic efforts to "get rid of surpluses."

The resolution adopted at New Delhi was an ambitious one. Yet it represents to me the fact that the problem of feeding and clothing people is no longer the concern of just a few. It is the growing concern of all of us.

President Kennedy of the United States of America has suggested that a second World Food Conference be held; the first, at Hot Springs in 1943, resulted in the establishment of FAO. I have for years been outspoken in support of such a proposal. I believe that such a conference should be held under FAO auspices. I am certain it would receive the wholehearted support of FAO Director-General B. R. Sen.

To what should such a conference address itself? Above all, it should be a conference devoted to acting upon two broad and basic challenges facing the world today.

The first is to set up the multilateral machinery that is essential if abundant stocks of food and fiber are to be adequately applied to areas of need. Within the scope of this item would fall consideration of currently effective unilateral programs, the role of existing agencies (national and international) dealing with food distribution, the machinery for both emergency situations and longer term supplies in deficiency areas, the use of reserves, financing and management, and capital funding.

The second challenge is the articulation of a World

Food Policy, including land policies, the use of food as a capital resource for economic development, and projection of long-range programs on the productivity front—marketing, price stabilization, farm income, agriculture development goals, the relation of agriculture to broad economic development efforts, and ways and means to utilize more fully the tremendous resources of FAO.

In the convening of such a conference, the focus should be on these two major action items. There should be no mistaking the fact that no such machinery now exists, nor is it within the operating potential of any one nation or limited group of nations.

These are issues that must be met head on at the highest levels of government if within this century we are to begin to close the nutrition gap and develop the food and fiber capability so sorely needed in so many places.

2. Reciprocal Peace Corps

THE PEACE CORPS program of this Administration has caught the imagination of the American people, and particularly the nation's young, as few proposals have in recent years.

Highly selected, competent, and devoted people can multiply the effective efforts that have been expended over the years by many private and religious groups.

The developing nations to which these corps members will go are largely agricultural. From 40 to 85 per cent of the livelihood of these nations now comes from the land.

Progress and a rising standard of living rest upon the capacity of their farm production made possible by increased per capita output. In turn, such increased efficiency can free more people for purposeful employment elsewhere and increase opportunities for education—the cornerstone of progress.

This progress, however, will begin on farms. It will involve the skills of production but will also include handling, processing, and getting the food to people.

My organization, the National Farmers Union, has indicated its full and active support for assisting young people skilled in U.S. agriculture to make directly effective contributions to the progress of developing nations.

Even more effective than several hundred skilled young farmers living in villages, working directly with the people on the land, would be a program bringing promising young farm people to our country for on-the-job training.

Recently I proposed to the International Cooperation Administration a Reciprocal Peace Corps program. Participation would be offered to the same developing countries to which the Peace Corps program is looking.

The selection of farm youth to come to this country is a particularly important step. I propose that they be selected on the basis of demonstrated leadership in their own youth groups, in agricultural training institutions where such exist, or in farm activities where they live.

ICA missions abroad, working in cooperation with the authorities in these nations, can, I am certain, select on this basis several hundred young agriculturists each year who would profit greatly, as would their communities upon their return.

I envision that such a program of receiving young farmers would be welcomed by the farm people in this country, who have demonstrated continuously in other ways their eagerness to help farmers who are trying to work their way from "a crooked stick to a steel plow."

I have suggested that the program for these several hundred young farmers each year include at the end of their stay a short course in one of our great Land-Grant institutions.

The program would also include an orientation course at the beginning to provide the necessary minimums of language and cultural understanding.

Well selected American farms would provide the actual training situations and the necessary insight into the life of American farm families and communities.

A small stipend would be provided each month, but, more important, the young farmers should receive from their on-the-job training a monthly deposit in their own currency, payable upon their return home.

I can think of no better use of the "soft currency" held by the United States in various countries than for these individuals to apply the money thus earned to the purchase of farm machinery and equipment, tools and implements, seed, or even livestock, to upgrade their farming.

With knowledge of American farming methods and with some resources to put their knowledge into practice, advances in production can be anticipated in places where food is most needed.

I see this proposal as being of real assistance to the Peace Corps program, as I am certain that the developing nations would look forward much more eagerly to receiving our corps members if their own were at the same time being received by us.

In addition, these farmers, upon returning, would provide continuing communication channels in the places where they are needed most, largely because the farm areas are not easily reached by roads or in other ways.

The sending of our people skilled in education, the trades, and farming will be of inestimable value in helping to shape a free and peaceful world. The Reciprocal Peace Corps Program can make it a two-way street and double the effectiveness of a bold and noble effort.

3. Farm Organizations and Cooperatives in Developing Nations

ENCOURAGING AND ASSISTING "grass roots" solutions to problems faced by farmers is essential to the developing nations if they are to achieve the same strength of a free agriculture enjoyed by more developed nations.

The farm economies of Western Europe and North America particularly, as well as of Australia and New Zealand, have been immeasurably strengthened by the mere fact that farmer producers themselves took the initiative to seek solution of problems of income, marketing, and even rural development.

Frequently, these efforts have taken the avenue of creating marketing, processing, and supply cooperatives. On other occasions, the organizations became a farm voice on matters of social and economic interest to farmers.

In many of these more developed nations, the farm organizations and their cooperatives assist and advise the government in preserving and maintaining a free agriculture, and have helped to create an agriculture that has written a great page in the history of man's attempt to provide for all the people a nutritious diet and adequate clothing.

Efforts in kind are now needed in many of the developing nations who, for the first time, are concerning themselves with such questions as what kind of food policy shall the nation adopt? what system of land policy can do the most good for the greatest number? how can productivity be stepped up to meet the nation's food needs? what types of instruments do farmers need to maintain their position in an industrializing economy?

Several pertinent facts need to be examined:

• In the developing nations, large percentages of the population are directly dependent upon farming for their livelihood.

• Voluntary organizations, including cooperatives specifically, cannot be created by government fiat. If they are to preserve their unique role as service instruments of farmers, they must be farmer-built and farmer-controlled.

• Cooperatives and voluntary associations may well have the best chance of success if they are created on a people-to-people basis, using experience gained directly from more developed areas of the world.

• Due to land holding patterns, primitive agricultural practices, lack of communications, and lack of central markets and processing facilities, effective voluntary associations of farmers have not progressed in many parts of the world nearly as well as the conditions and the times demand.

• The International Federation of Agricultural Producers, which includes four member-organizations from African countries and three from Asia, has been able to became increasingly sensitive to the needs of farmers and their efforts to achieve effective association in these two areas of the world.

• Enlightened programs, aiming at the improvement of nutritional levels in developing nations, may encounter resistance from primary producers in these same areas until these producers have developed relationships with producers elsewhere, and until there is greater understanding of common trade problems and possibilities.

• If a multilateral agency for distribution of food and fiber is ever to become an effective reality, it must have participation by the developing nations and the enthusiastic support of farmers in these countries.

With these factors in mind, the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, the National Grange, and the National Farmers Union have jointly proposed that an allocation of funds be made by the United States Government to the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, enabling that organization to establish pilot programs in at least four developing countries during the next five years.

The determination of which nations would engage in the pilot program would, of necessity, follow analysis and negotiations by an IFAP secretariat set up to guide the program, under the advisement of a committee made up of representatives of the Food and Agriculture Organization and the competent authorities of donor nations.

The activities of the program would include consultation with existing farm organizations and cooperatives, leadership training, farm community planning, and the development of intergroup relations among various segments of the farm community.

Major emphasis would be given to the encouragement of cooperatives as instruments by which farmers can help themselves, as well as to developing relationships between cooperatives and farmer associations.

It can be expected that a five-year program of these dimensions, drawing upon the farm leadership resources of both the more and less developed nations, can greatly strengthen the economic capability of farmer producers and serve to make the democratic processes on their own behalf more effective.

Possible approaches to

COUNTRY-LEVEL COORDINATION OF LENDING

RAYMOND F. MIKESELL

IN RECENT YEARS WE HAVE WITNESSED a mushroom growth in the number of public foreign lending institutions: national (mainly United States), international, and regional. To some extent it may be argued that the proliferation of public lending institutions is based on the need for filling functional gaps in our kit of development therapies. Thus, for example, the World Bank can only make hard loans to member governments or to private entities guaranteed by member governments. Therefore, new institutions or subsidiaries of old ones must be created to make (a) soft loans to members and (b) hard loans to private firms not guaranteed by member governments. On the other hand, I suspect that some of this proliferation of aid institutions is due to the fact that it is easier to get legislatures in the capital exporting countries, like the United States, to appropriate funds for "new" programs than to provide more money for old ones. (Those who seek money from private foundations for projects either in the United States or abroad have the same experience; they must as a rule come up with something "new" if they are to be successful in getting support.)

Thus the US Congress authorized US membership in, and appropriated subscriptions to, the International Development Association, the International Finance Corporation, and the Inter-American Development Bank, with little or no opposition, while the same Congress and its committees regularly pare down by at least 25 per cent the administration's requests for foreign aid under old programs. Likewise, the new Development Loan Fund has provided a useful vehicle for getting more funds for less developed countries out of Congress. Without going so far as to generalize this experience into a kind of Parkinsonian law of legislative appropriations, it appears likely that a further multiplication of aid agencies may prove to be the most expeditious means of obtaining funds for economic development.

While this multiplication of foreign assistance agencies has been going on, there has been a growing demand by students of our foreign aid programs for better coordination of foreign assistance activities, especially at the country level. Notwithstanding the fact that each new agency has been justified on the ground that it was designed to fill a special need, the fact is that the functions and powers of these agencies overlap substantially. Indeed, some of them are department stores in their field rather than specialty shops. For example, the Development Loan Fund has made both hard and soft loans, both specific project and general purpose or balance of payments loans, and loans to governments as well as to local and international business enterprises. Much the same thing may be said regarding the powers of the Inter-American Development Bank, which, in addition to its full complement of lending authority, also provides technical assistance on a grant basis.

Whatever the advantages of decentralization at the operating level, and given the fact that we are likely to have

more and not fewer separate agencies providing advice and largesse of various kinds to the less developed countries, it seems clear that in the interests of both economic efficiency and the achievement of the hoped-for social and political goals of foreign assistance, some means of policy and operational coordination at the country level must be established. Such coordination is imperative if we are to influence the direction of the host country's economic progress along lines dictated by a comprehensive assessment of internal economic and political factors.

It is also clear that such coordination does not exist today. In fact, as Harlan Cleveland and others have pointed out, government officials in the host country as well as officials of the various private and public aid institutions, have considerable difficulty in discovering and keeping track of what fifteen or twenty different agencies, all operating in the same country, are doing or seeking to do. Before we can discuss the mechanics of coordination at the country level, however, we must consider the possible alternative relationships between international lending institutions and the developing countries they serve.

Four Approaches to Development Financing

ONE APPROACH is to consider the international lending institution solely as a source of development capital for financing projects that meet certain standards or criteria. Each request for a loan is considered on its own merits, taking into account both capacity to repay and the economic and technical feasibility of the project to be financed. Under this approach the lending institution assumes no responsibility for the general progress of the borrower's economic development or for its financing. It need only assure itself that the individual project for which financing has been requested is economically sound and may be expected to make a contribution to the economic welfare of the borrowing country.

A *second approach* is for the public lending institution to make general purpose development loans on the basis of the borrowing country's capacity to service additional indebtedness. Under this approach the borrowing country would be left to determine the specific projects that are to be financed by the loan without any prior review or supervision on the part of the lender. It is sometimes argued that the net result of this second approach is very little different from that of the first, since in any case an international lending institution is likely to provide no more than a small fraction of the country's total investment. It is, after all, the total allocation of investment funds and not merely the nature of the externally proposed projects that is going to determine the country's economic growth and ability to service the loan.

There would be some justification for this position if lending institutions looked no further than the specific projects they were prepared to finance. Even if this were so, however, their review and advice concerning the feasibility of these projects and their relationship to other aspects of the development program would have considerable value. In practice international lending institutions have not confined themselves in considering loan applications to a narrow investigation of the technical and economic feasibility or profitability of the particular projects to be financed. In fact, it is quite impossible to give adequate consideration to an application for a loan for a hydroelectric dam, a railroad, a highway, or an irrigation project without becoming involved in an investigation of various sectors of the economy and of the country's development plans and prospects. The very fact that a prospective lender requests an economic and engineering analysis of the proposed project as it relates to various aspects of the economy has considerable educational value.

The general purpose loan approach may also, of course, involve a broad analysis of the economy and of the government's development program and policies. It may, in addition, be accompanied by undertakings on the part of the borrower as to the types of investment on which the funds will be spent, or more broadly, undertakings regarding the country's general development programs and policies, including monetary, exchange, and fiscal policies.

A *third approach* might combine the specific project approach with that of a long-term, continuous relationship with the borrowing country, in which the lending institution would undertake to provide financing for a series of specific projects that formed a part of the country's development program. Under this approach the international lending institution might have a relationship to borrowing countries analogous to that of an investment banking firm to an industrial concern that it has helped to organize or reorganize. The investment bank in this case is responsible for providing, or helping to provide, the external financing required for the company and advises the firm regarding its plans for expansion. Similarly an international lending institution might advise a country with respect to its development planning and programming, assist the government in choosing and formulating projects suitable for external financing at a rate consistent with the country's borrowing capacity, and undertake to provide a more or less steady flow of external financing in accordance with a long-range program.

A *fourth approach* would be for the international financing institution to undertake to provide sufficient financing to achieve a predetermined rate of economic growth or a target level of per capita output, on the basis of a broad plan covering a period of several years. This approach tends to place the responsibility for the target rate of economic growth largely on the financing institution, and assumes that growth in turn is very largely a function of the amount of capital available for investment.

It is possible to find examples of all four types of relationships between international lenders and borrowers during the postwar period. Moreover, so far as the World Bank and the Export-Import Bank are concerned, it is impossible to identify them completely with any one of these approaches. To a considerable degree both the World Bank and the Export-Import Bank have favored the specific project approach to development financing. On the other hand, it would be very unfair to say that these institutions have not been concerned with the general economic progress of borrowing countries. The World Bank, for example, has provided various forms of technical assistance relating to the development programs of its members and has taken into consideration investment priorities and the relationship of the individual projects they finance to the broad course of the country's development. The Export-Import Bank has made a number of general purpose development loans in which its relationship to the borrowing country is similar to that set forth in our second approach. Both institutions have maintained relationships with certain countries that constitute at least some of the elements of our third approach. On the other hand, neither the World Bank nor the Export-Import Bank has undertaken responsibility for the rate of economic growth or for providing external financing sufficient to achieve a target rate of growth for particular countries.

Perhaps the closest approach to a concrete example of

the fourth type of relationship is represented by the Marshall Plan under the Economic Cooperation Administration inaugurated in 1948. Here the United States government undertook to achieve the restoration of prewar levels of living on a self-sustaining basis for the countries of Western Europe. Programs were formulated on a joint basis for achieving predetermined goals within a four-year period, and the US government provided the financing, on both a grant and a loan basis, that is considered necessary for carrying out the programs. Although this approach has not been applied to the economic development of poor countries, a number of proposals have been made that would embody the relationships and responsibilities of our fourth approach to developing countries.

The difference between the specific project approach and our fourth approach was illustrated in the course of a controversy between the United States and the Brazilian positions at the conference on an inter-American development institution held at the Pan American Union in Washington, DC, January-April 1959. (See *New York Times*, March 22, 1959, page 20.) The Brazilians argued for an institution that would have as its goal the raising of per capita real income in Latin America by a target amount within a stated period of time. The development institution would make available capital assistance to countries in accordance with the requirements for meeting predetermined growth goals. The US proposal, on the other hand, was for an inter-American bank to make loans on a project basis, operating in much the same way as the World Bank and the Export-Import Bank. Although the US position prevailed, it is conceivable that the Inter-American Development Bank, as it has been established, may operate in a manner analogous to our third approach.

The relationship between an international lending institution, or for that matter, a coordinated program of assistance administered by several external aid institutions, should not necessarily be the same for every country. There are some countries, such as Mexico, for example, where development is proceeding fairly satisfactorily and the external needs for capital can be met by project loans from time to time from the World Bank or the Export-Import Bank or even from private lending institutions. Even in such cases, however, a certain amount of coordination between public lending institutions, including the International Monetary Fund, is desirable. General agreement should be reached regarding the country's future capacity to service additional loans and upon the general scale of investment priorities within the country. The latter would certainly require a periodic economic survey of the country undertaken by, or under the general supervision of, an agency designed to coordinate the activities of the various external public lending and other aid agencies at the country level. In addition there should be a review of the country's own development plans and general development programming and sectoral studies. Indeed, it is difficult to make rational decisions on requests for project loans in the absence of studies that will provide some basis for establishing investment priorities. It seems desirable, therefore, that the various public lending agencies that might be called upon by the country for loans, including perhaps private lending groups as well, should make their decisions on more or less the same body of facts and analyses, and should consult with one another before final decisions on loan applications are made.

There are undoubtedly occasions where general purpose or balance of payments loans are warranted along the lines of our *second* approach. The postwar loans for European reconstruction, both by the World Bank and the Export-Import Bank, were largely of this type. The countries of Western Europe were rebuilding a relatively high productivity economy and not building a new economic and social structure. The disadvantage of loans of this type is that the lending agency does not become deeply involved in the country's development program through the process of evaluating and supervising expenditures for specific projects. It may even be argued that general balance of payments support should be limited to the activities of the International Monetary Fund, whose charter authorizes the Fund to examine carefully and make recommendations on monetary, fiscal, and other economic policies that will affect the country's future external and internal stability. Nevertheless, we cannot rule out the possibility that longer term general purpose loans—the Monetary Fund is supposed to make short-term loans for currency stability—may be warranted in countries where development is proceeding satisfactorily, and where a deep involvement by external agencies in the development program of the borrowing country seems unnecessary. Here again, however, coordination on the part of the lending agencies is called for along the lines indicated.

Coordination at the country level is much more important, however, in the case of the vast majority of developing countries where a satisfactory rate of economic progress has not been achieved or the balance of payments is in chronic disequilibrium or both. In these cases, which I believe are in the majority, agreement among the various aid institutions, including technical assistance agencies as well as hard and soft loan institutions, as to the directions in which the economy should be moving in the light of economic, social, and political conditions, and as to how the desired goals in the various sectors of the economy might best be achieved, is of the utmost importance. Moreover, it is with these countries that a close and continuous relationship between the external assistance agencies and the country's development program and planning for its overall financing is essential for steady growth and for the maintenance of external equilibrium. It is here that our *third* approach, which emphasizes project loans within the framework of this close and continuous relationship, appears to have the most relevance. Under our *third* approach, the external financing institution or institutions would undertake to provide, or assist in providing, all of the external financing from both private and public sources that the developing country could productively employ under reasonable standards of performance. But such an undertaking could not be assumed under present conditions of uncoordinated activities on the part of our external assistance agencies.

Limitations of Present Institutional Structure

ONE BARRIER TO THE EFFECTUATION of our *third* approach under present conditions is that developing countries tend to borrow from several institutions and rarely does a particular institution assume a close and continuing relationship with an individual country and its development program. No one institution has sufficient resources to undertake to supply *all* of the external capital that *all* of the developing countries could properly absorb and service. Moreover, external public lending agencies have different standards for making loans, and a country's capacity to service loans from one agency may be impaired by the assumption of new obligations to another. Nor has a rational set of standards and procedures been developed for determining the proportion of a country's total external borrow-

ing that should be financed on a "hard" loan rather than on a "soft" loan basis. Finally, the ability of developing countries to obtain large intermediate-term financing from private foreign banks and foreign suppliers backed up by guarantees provided by the governments of the exporting countries has further complicated the problem of applying loan criteria.

It is partly for these reasons that the World Bank has found it difficult to help borrowing countries plan for a steady inflow of capital; the Bank must take into account loans from other sources, private and public, that will affect the country's debt-servicing capacity. A similar problem will face the Inter-American Development Bank. It seems clear, therefore, that if a development institution is to have a substantial degree of responsibility for providing the financing "required" by a particular country, there must either be an agreement between the government of the country and the financing institution regarding the use of other sources of external funds, or there must be a higher degree of cooperation among public lending institutions than has been established in the past. Otherwise, lending institutions will continue to operate very largely on a project-by-project basis without assuming any responsibility for continuing financial requirements of individual countries' development programs.

Moreover, as we have already seen, there exist both hard loan institutions and soft loan institutions and institutions with both hard and soft loan windows, and thus far there seems to be little coordination in determining the conditions under which countries should receive one type of financing or the other or just what the capacity to service hard loans is for particular countries.

Another problem arises from the fact that with a few exceptions, the technical assistance agencies, such as the UN Economic Commission for Latin America, the ICA, or the UN Special Fund, are not operating in close cooperation with the lending agencies in helping countries to formulate development programs. In addition, of course, most lending agencies, with the important exception of the World Bank, are not equipped to provide the technical assistance and continuous cooperation with individual countries required by the (*third*) approach to development lending that we are suggesting.

Coordination through Regional Institutions

IT IS BEYOND THE SCOPE of this article to discuss the mechanics of achieving coordination of financial and technical assistance activities directed toward the promotion of common economic and social goals in individual developing countries. There are not only the problems of coordination among the various national, regional, and international agencies themselves, but perhaps more importantly, there are the political problems involved in dealing with the officials of the host government.

One solution may be the employment of a regional organization, such as the new Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), as the coordinating agency. I believe that the best hope for a coordinated approach to Latin American development lies in the activities of the IDB. If this new institution is to be just another external assistance agency to which Latin American countries can apply for financing of individual projects, it will not make a major contribution to the solution of Latin America's external financing problems. In this event, the IDB may merely make some of the loans that would otherwise have been made by the Export-Import Bank or the World Bank, and little additional capital for Latin America may be forthcoming. The basic limitation on loans to Latin America in the past has not been a lack of resources on the part of existing institutions. Rather, it has been a shortage of loan applications that met the standards of existing lending institutions and the inability of at least some Latin American countries to meet the standards of credit-worthiness established by existing institutions. Both of these limitations might be greatly ameliorated by a coordination of the activities of various financial and technical assistance agencies at the country level. It would be highly desirable for the IDB to establish resident missions in each member country. Countries might be assisted in the preparation of a series of projects suitable for external financing, and the lending agencies might reach an agreement regarding the appropriate rate of flow of capital funds to the country in the light of its long-run capacity to service external indebtedness. Because the IDB is governed by Latin Americans, it is also in the best position to make recommendations to countries regarding their development policies.

Thus we may hope that the IDB will provide a model for coordination at the country level and a new approach to development assistance that might be applied in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. This will, of course, require a further addition to the roster of external lending agencies, but as we said earlier, this is likely to happen in any case.

A Survey and Suggestions

TRAINING ADMINISTRATORS FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

CLARENCE E. THURBER

EDUCATIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATIONS in the United States of America are making a major effort to help train administrators from the underdeveloped countries. The importance of such an effort is obvious, for the tasks of government in these societies are crucial. In exploring some of the training problems, reviewing work under way, and suggesting desirable directions in this article, the author assumes that public administration, as a branch of knowledge, is closely related to cultural and political norms. It follows that most countries will have to develop their own "branches" of the field. Moreover, neither the USA nor other Western countries have the resources to train more than a small proportion of the administrators needed. We might do well, therefore, to give greater attention to the training of teachers and scholars from such countries as a kind of capital investment in the field and its growth abroad.

Foreign Trainees in Public Administration

ABOUT 900 TRAINEES in public administration were brought to the USA during 1960. The International Cooperation Administration sponsored a total of 853 public administration participants (its term for trainees) in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1960. A majority of these were short-term assignments lasting from one to six months. For full-time instruction the number of trainees from all other sources probably did not exceed 50. The United Nations had a total of five public administration fellows in its regular technical assistance program and a larger but unspecified number under the expanded program. The Ford Foundation, through its Overseas Development Program, sponsored about 20 fellows in the field during 1959-60.

Out of the total, only 380 foreign students studied public administration in US universities. This was less than 1 per cent of the 44,486 foreign students, and about 5 per cent of the students in the social sciences. The vast majority of these foreign students came from the underdeveloped areas—200 from the Far East and South and Southeast Asia, not including Pakistan.

Significant numbers of trainees come from individual countries only when there are special projects or programs in public administration sponsored by one or more of the technical assistance agencies. The five leading countries in 1960 in terms of numbers of students in administration in the USA were Indonesia—35, Korea—33, India—32, the Philippines—25, Thailand—25. All participated in projects supported by the United Nations, the International Cooperation Administration, or the Ford Foundation. The Colombo Plan has also provided assistance in the field, but its fellows have received training primarily in Australia and Canada.

The 380 students studying a full academic year at a college or university represent the group that is likely to get a fundamental exposure to the ideas and concepts as well as the techniques and methods of the field. It is from this group that it might be possible to recruit and train the corps of teacher-scholars in administration that may be assumed to be the seed corn for the future growth of the discipline in the underdeveloped countries. The possibility of recruiting teachers from the group of able practitioners also needs careful consideration.

Problems of Adjustment

THE FOREIGN TRAINEE IN THE USA is subject to cultural shock just as is the American abroad. Moreover he is likely to view American administration through his own cultural glasses, fitted at home. Means are therefore needed to assist the foreign trainee in his personal problems of adjustment and to help him appreciate American administration in its own political and cultural setting. A good deal of research and writing has been done on the first of these, summarized by Simon Lesser and Hollis Peter in "Training Foreign Nationals in the United States" (*Some Applications of Behavioral Research*, Unesco, 1957).

If we assume a reasonably successful personal adjustment, there are equally difficult intellectual and professional problems. These may be briefly listed as:

- The trainee in administration needs a special introduction to the historical, political, and governmental situation in which American administration arose and is practiced today. The typical foreign trainee or student in administration has little knowledge or appreciation of, for example, American political history, federalism, or the presidential system of government. Graduate work usually assumes such knowledge. Trainees also need exposure to actual administrative operations.
- Trainees and students from underdeveloped countries are frequently products of the "rote learning" system of education. Moreover, status relationships are such that a teacher or a superior officer in an organization is rarely questioned on points of fact or value. Thus "empirical thinking," or training in problem-solving methods, is not likely to be a part of the intellectual equipment of the foreign trainee. He will need special assistance if he is to acquire aptitude in these ways of thinking, which seem so natural to most Americans.
- Trainees also need help in acquiring information and knowledge that will be especially useful in meeting administrative problems in the home country. Since the curriculum in most schools of administration and departments of political science is designed primarily for an American audience, this need poses a special problem for the scope and content of the discipline. The need for special attention here is particularly acute in relation to the writing of special papers and dissertations.
- Although the practice of selecting persons of some standing and experience may reduce the need for assistance in placement on return home, the trainee and student in administration has need for continuation of professional contacts if his training is to be of maximum value. Special efforts to maintain and build on the interest and competence established through training appear to be needed.

Response of US Universities to the Problem

CONTRARY TO SOME EARLIER PRACTICE, universities are now disposed to insist on high standards of selection and performance on the part of foreign students. This may be a response to the rising enrolment of American students. But it is also a judgment, based on experience, that anything else is self-defeating. The foreign students themselves are the first to resent the attitudes, apparently widespread in some of their home countries, that American education is inferior, and that their degrees, to use Clifford Wharton's phrase, are "underdeveloped Masters" or "Oriental Ph.D." degrees. Instead of a double standard of performance, there is a renewed effort to assist the foreign student in ways that will help him to compete on an equal basis. This is having effects all down the line, but especially in respect to (1) English language competence, (2) greater depth in orientation and post-training evaluation sessions, and (3) renewed efforts to help the foreign student think through the relevance of US training to the home situation.

Special Arrangements in the Field of Public Administration

DEPARTMENTS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE and schools of public administration have responded to the needs of foreign students and foreign trainees in three principal ways:

- Special counseling arrangements for foreign students are frequently made, with advisers appointed in departments or schools, if the number of students is sufficient to make such an arrangement necessary. This is most often the case when the university is participating in a special project, such as an inter-university contract, bringing considerable numbers of foreign students to the campus. As an outgrowth of this arrangement, informal seminars for foreign students may be established, which serve a useful purpose in rounding out knowledge of American government and politics, views of Americans on social and cultural issues, and the peculiarities of the US academic system.
- Short-courses, workshops, and institutes are frequently arranged at the request of the ICA or other technical assistance agency when a number of trainees need special training within a short period of time on such topics as personnel administration, organization and methods, or budgeting. They may be as short as two or three days or as long as three weeks. A great deal of ground can be covered when preparations for intensive work have been made in advance, and when the participants are fully competent in English. The author attended one such short-course in the spring of 1960, on the financing of economic

development, in which the participants were from a number of underdeveloped countries. There were obvious problems in communication. This was a "traveling" short-course, visiting a dozen or more cities within a space of three weeks. Traveling in a group, and having a definitely prepared schedule at each stop, was an infinitely more effective way to use consultants and guest speakers than to send individuals out on their own. The group members also had the advantage of consulting with one another, and checking on impressions, between stops.

An example of a longer-term session was the twelve-week Institute in Economic, Social, and Industrial Development held at the School of Public and International Affairs of the University of Pittsburgh, also in the spring of 1960. This institute was serious business and not only provided an opportunity for a much broader and deeper examination of many problems in the field but also encouraged better communication. Courses of such length may strike a reasonable compromise in terms of the needs of the short-term visitors.

• Numerous special programs are organized by universities for special audiences. Three of them, described here, exemplify some of the experience and problems with foreign students in public administration.

The New York University-United Nations Program. This was a one year course, developed cooperatively by the United Nations and New York University, leading to the degree of Master of Public Administration. It was primarily the conception of the Public Administration Division of the UN. Trainees were primarily United Nations fellows, although others were admitted to the course as well. Preference in the award of fellowships was given to those who had three to five years' experience in administration in their own countries.

Teaching materials were developed in a central seminar for both teaching and research-training purposes. Administrative systems and operations in the USA, Europe, and the underdeveloped countries were examined. An attempt was made to discover the effect of different cultures on administrative practices. In addition, fellows studied various administrative specialties at NYU. An effort was also made to tap the rich resources of the City of New York for direct observation and analysis of administrative problems.

With the retirement of Mr. van Mook, the seminar leader and former UN official, the program has now been completed. Those who participated in it, and others, believed that it made a very useful contribution to training.

The Pakistan Project, University of Southern California. This was instituted in 1957 under a three-year contract with the International Cooperation Administration. It is a six-month executive development course for mid-career officials in the Pakistan Superior Civil Services. The project was designed to demonstrate American and comparative experience in development, and to improve the competence of the Pakistanis in general administration. There have been five six-month courses, each attended by an average of twenty Pakistani officials.

Each course is divided into three phases—group work, on-the-job assignments, and a field-trip laboratory in national government. Group work consists of group discussions and team exercises, analyzing administrative problems, the appropriate use of methods, and practice in problem-solving exercises. This leads to a series of team reports comparing an area of administration observed during the on-the-job association, in which the Pakistani associates are placed in appropriate governmental jurisdictions, in the Los Angeles area, chosen primarily on the grounds of effective administrative practice. The laboratory in national government lasts about six weeks during which visits are made to such agencies as the Immigration and Naturalization Service, El Paso; the Tennessee Valley Authority; Executive and Congressional offices in Washington; the Port of New York Authority; the United Nations; and, weather permitting, the St. Lawrence Seaway.

A final phase of the program was to have been carried out by USC faculty on annual trips to Pakistan, as a means of keeping the Pakistani "alumni" up to date, but it has not been possible to activate this part of the program.

The Public Service Fellowships in Economic Development of Littauer School, Harvard University. Established in 1957, this is an academic-year program leading to the degree of Master of Public Administration for fellows who have served at least five years in administrative capacities in underdeveloped countries. Usually, ten to twelve fellowships are awarded each year. The seminars and lectures that make up the instructional part of the program are open to Americans and others, but the program was designed to meet the needs of underdeveloped countries for advanced training in the administration of economic planning. Harvard's experience in providing a group of advisers, beginning in 1953, to the National Planning Board of Pakistan was the immediate antecedent of this program. Dr. Edward S. Mason, Director of the program, was the senior adviser in Pakistan.

Three or four courses make up the core of the program, the first two of which are invariably, and the others frequently, taken by the fellows. The first is a full-year lecture course on economic development; the second, a year-long seminar on problems of economic and political development; the third, a seminar on comparative administration and economic development; and the last, a lecture course on public finance in the developing countries.

The public service fellows are required to write an essay on a problem of economic development associated with a country not their own. During the spring of the year, they take field trips to various organizations in the United States, worked out to meet individual needs and requirements. These frequently include visits to the TVA, government agencies in Washington—ICA, for example, and the various development banks—and visits to land-grant colleges. Fellows also take advantage of international travel to visit agencies of interest such as FAO in Rome, the American University in Beirut, and community development projects in India.

Special Training in Inter-University Contracts

TRAINING IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES as part of Inter-University Contracts deserves special attention. Frequently, through this means, groups of students or professors or both are brought to this country and given training programs including some or all of the features in the projects already described. These contract groups are especially important from the point of view of this paper, because, more often than not, they are directly associated with the development of an indigenous educational or training institution in public administration, or business and public administration.

Some 14 substantial training programs in public administration have been mounted in 10 foreign countries through Inter-University Contracts, most of them financed by ICA. Even in such programs, however, it is a question whether sufficient attention is being given to the Ph.D.-level training of foreign faculty members, to their need for research-training attuned to the needs of their own country, and to providing continuing contacts with Western scholars and practitioners.

One aspect of the participation of US universities in Inter-University Contracts has direct relevance to the

training of foreign administrators here. This is the breadth of experience that has accrued to American faculty members in the affairs of underdeveloped countries. The exposure to the underdeveloped countries that the contracts, and other similar international experiences, have afforded, while not always as long and intensive as might be hoped, has been an important factor in preparing the US faculty member for dealing more adequately with the problems of foreign students on the home campus. These experiences have also stimulated research interests that have made an important contribution to the growth of the field.

Common Characteristics of Programs

CERTAIN COMMON CHARACTERISTICS of the programs described here may be considered as major trends in the university training of foreign administrators in the United States:

- Special programs have been established for the training of experienced administrators, usually those who have had at least five years in administration in their home countries. The emphasis is not only on training at the graduate as opposed to the undergraduate level, but on the selection of trainees who are more mature and experienced than those normally found in US graduate schools. Such programs are almost invariably of an inter-disciplinary nature, usually involving cooperation between faculties of administration and economics, and frequently of anthropology and sociology as well. Considerable emphasis is given to methods of problem formulation and problem solving.
- Observation and study tours of American organizations are a necessary part of the training process, representing the quickest and most effective means for getting a "feel" for American practice. Observation and study of other foreign organizations, important in the field of international development, is of equal importance. In both cases, arrangements stop short of administrative internships.
- Considerably higher priority is attached to the training of practicing government servants from the underdeveloped countries than to the training of teacher-scholars, though the latter has been a consideration in some inter-university contracts and in some of the fellowships awarded by the United Nations and the Ford Foundation. The normal maximum period of training, however, is one year, and the most frequently awarded degree is that of Master in Public Administration.

Thus it is apparent that some but by no means all of the pressing needs of foreign students and trainees in public administration are being met by arrangements now in effect in some universities. Except for the special counseling arrangements noted, the field relies largely on general arrangements for assisting in social and cultural adjustment, and in language training, provided by the university. There is little special instruction for foreign students in public administration of relevant aspects of American history and government, or in the framework of social, economic, and political institutions in which American administrators operate. Informal observation and study tours are relatively brief and necessarily lack depth. The few real attempts at follow-up after the trainees return home indicate that this might be a promising area for future work. Many of these comments indicate shortcomings that are normal consequences of short-term assignments, or even of training for a full year.

Comparatively little priority has been accorded to the development of training programs to meet the special needs of foreign teacher-scholars in public administration, lasting two, three, or more years. Still to be developed are programs of research-training on problems of administration in developing societies, opportunities for data collection and field research in the home country or a related, less-developed country, and supervision of field research by "returned alumni" and by US faculty members serving in the field. The contribution that indigenous teacher-scholars trained under such arrangements might make to the future development of public administration is apparent. One reason why they have not been further explored and developed may be a result of the separation of efforts to train foreign administrators from efforts to develop new theory.

International Content in Public Administration

IT IS OBVIOUS that the ability of the field of public administration to offer effective training to foreign administrators is ultimately dependent upon its scope and content. The introduction of international content in the field is, however, a very recent development. The first seminar dealing primarily with an international subject matter at the Littauer School at Harvard was introduced in 1940-41. In most departments and schools, courses bearing on international aspects of administration were a post-World War II development.

Most of the current developments of interest can be grouped under the broad heading of comparative government or administration. There is space to mention a few only. The Committee on Comparative Politics of the Social Science Research Council has broken new ground by developing a new framework for the comparative (and functional) analysis of the political processes—including administration—of the developing areas. The first major published work of the committee, *The Politics of the Developing Areas,* is a landmark in this field. This is just one example of the many new ideas and concepts currently subject to discussion and testing. Others are being spawned in new seminars on comparative administration and development that are a distinguishing feature of the current growth of the field, including those at Harvard under Professor Fainsod; at Yale under Professors Sharp, Kaufman, and Fesler; at Cornell under Professor Bent; at Oregon under Professors Wengert and Mikesell; at Indiana, under Professors Calwell and Riggs, among others. The Indiana group produced one of the early volumes in the field, *Toward the Comparative Study of Administration.* Also indicative of the growing work in this field is the special June 1960 issue of the *Administrative Sciences Review* on the theme of comparative administration.

Research programs at the Maxwell School, Syracuse University, have taken a slightly different direction, as marked by the well-known work of Dean Cleveland and associates, and by the recent publication of the important volume on *The Overseas Americans.* Also, a number of faculty members at the Maxwell School will be associated during the next five years with colleagues at Syracuse in the fields of business administration, engineering, and education in a program of research on the theme of cross-cultural operations. This signifies the special involvement of Americans in "institution-building" in overseas programs.

At the University of Southern California, Dr. Richard Gable conducts an annual seminar on problems of technical assistance.

A new approach termed "development administration" is being discussed as possibly comprehending both Western and non-Western elements in the administrative process. A group headed by Dr. Edward Weidner at Michigan State University is currently engaged in research in this field. Certain implications are already being drawn from the concept for the training of foreign administrators. A report prepared by Professor Irving Swerdlow on the curriculum

of the new Pakistan Administrative Staff College, with which Syracuse is associated, recommends training that will underline (1) the importance to public administrators of an understanding of economic forces and relationships, and (2) the comparative politics and administration of development programs. Finally, according to Swerdlow, "there is the requirement that public administrators learn to stimulate and encourage a spirit of innovation and creativity, and to gear procedures and regulations to change and development. . . . This is merely the recognition of the need for a special kind of creativity in public administrators which will need to be encouraged and stimulated as much as the widened creativity in technological innovations necessary for economic development."

It is not surprising, perhaps, that a discussion of recent trends in thought and investigation in comparative administration would turn again to the requirements of training foreign administrators. It would seem important to stress the relationship of research to training in this field, and of the potential for collaboration in research between Americans and foreign nationals so trained. New trends of thought have also had ramifications on the organization of universities.

Institutional Implications

THE GROWTH OF INTEREST in US universities in overseas development and administration has in some universities required the establishment of new organizational arrangements. Although the training of foreign administrators is only one part of this interest, the ability of the universities to provide effective training is being strengthened. Notable examples are the School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh, the School of International Service at American University, and the Institute of International Studies and Overseas Operations at the University of Oregon. At Michigan State University, the process has gone even further, and an experiment in "university-wide involvement" in international affairs is going forward. Under the coordination of a central dean, assistant deans of international studies are being appointed in several of the colleges and professional schools, including agriculture, business, and public administration, and the liberal arts college. At other universities, some of the same objectives are sought through the modification of established forms. Public administrators are playing prominent parts in these developments. Perhaps more to the point is the fact that these arrangements are bringing the field of public administration into closer contact and communication with other public service fields in which numerous groups of foreign students and trainees are being trained. These include engineering, education, agriculture, and public health. A relationship of this kind has always been needed with respect to training for administration at home, but the urgency of assisting the underdeveloped countries has apparently opened up new possibilities.

Conclusions

THE TRAINING OF FOREIGN ADMINISTRATORS in the United States can be advanced most fundamentally by American universities that have both an interest and competence in "development." Such universities are making special efforts to meet the social and cultural and the intellectual and professional needs of the foreign group. Moreover, they are associated with the advancement of the field, and with its organization, in ways that have an obvious bearing on the relevance and on the scale of the contribution of the field to overseas development. It remains to be seen whether the special efforts made to date have set a pattern that others can learn from and build on, or whether the widespread experimentation that has marked the past decade needs to be broadened and accelerated.

The research trends in the field seem to be pointing toward a much needed theory of the role of administration in development. There are two traditional perspectives from which to view this role—that of the underdeveloped countries themselves, and that of the United States and other Western countries as they contribute to development. Perhaps equally important is the construction of a framework in which the mutual contributions and interactions of each can be more effectively related. This, the perspective of the developing community of free nations is an appropriate framework for further work in "development administration."

One interpretation of the institutional and organizational changes in the field is that they are part of a broader need to redefine the role of the American university in world affairs. An aspect of this need is of special concern to public administration. How can the American members of the profession best participate with their colleagues in the less developed countries to establish and promote indigenous research, educational, and training institutions? How can cooperative relationships be developed and maintained over a long period of time?

Looked at in either context, the healthy growth of the field, and the extent to which it can further develop its potential for service to society, is dependent to a remarkable extent on the growth and maintenance of these colleague relationships across cultures. That is why the training of foreign teacher-scholars of administration is important and, in the author's opinion, deserving of higher priority in the training of foreign administrators in the United States.

Candid Account of a Development Project

COLOMBIA'S NEW ECONOMIC RESEARCH CENTER

JOHN M. HUNTER

THERE IS ALTOGETHER TOO LITTLE in the literature of economic development concerning the minutiae of technical assistance projects. Some general studies and evaluations are beginning to appear, but few of the technicians themselves are reporting their experiences as technicians. Considerable literature has developed from these experiences, but it is related to the professional orientation of the writers and not to their roles as technical "assistors." Besides modesty and conscience, there are other reasons for this reluctance: Each project is only a small part of nationally and internationally sponsored efforts. The range of efforts, from national planning to mechanization of rice production, is so great that the persons involved appear to have little in common to say to each other; nor do they have well developed media for communicating if they wanted to do

so. Many projects are governmental or indirectly so, and it is difficult for governmental agencies to be publicly objective about their own activities. Finally, most technicians' experiences are "in the small," and they are reluctant to generalize from one or a series of experiences that cannot cover very many years, are geographically and culturally limited, and are circumscribed by the technical competence and tasks of the individuals.

Yet there is much to be gained from a sharing of experiences. With enough literature, some discerning person may be able to reach some more-than-platitudinous general conclusions regarding factors contributing to success and failure in these projects. Perhaps more important, such a reservoir of experiences should be of great assistance in the field to old hands as well as those beginning this kind of activity. Finally, there is more in common than initially appears to be the case. Technicians are trying to identify desirable social and economic changes (identification may already have been accomplished when a project actually results in work) and to bring about those changes. The prime problem, then, is initiating change. The egg production expert in Greenland may have precisely the same problems in his position as has the office management expert in Vietnam. They may have much of mutual benefit to say to each other although their professional fields of interest and their geographic areas are far apart.

With such justification (or rationalization?), this article reports a recently concluded two-year responsibility for the establishment of an economic research center at the Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia. At the outset, my testimony is not necessarily unprejudiced. My feeling of accomplishment at the end of the period exceeded that for any other two-year period and nearly equalled the sense of frustration from an earlier experience in Vietnam. (For a restrained account, see my "Reflections on the Administrative Aspects of a Technical Assistance Project," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, July, 1959.)

Background

THE AMBIENTE IN WHICH ALL PROJECTS are undertaken is of great importance. This section discusses salient features of the natal environment of the Centro de Estudio sobre Desarrollo Económico (CEDE).

State of economics training in Colombia. As an academic subject, economics is a relative newcomer in Colombian university education and still occupies a rather uncertain position owing to its confusion with education for business. (A facultad is roughly the equivalent of a US university "college" in function but more nearly resembles a "department" in size. The oldest of these was about fifteen years old; the newest two were less than two years old.) In June 1959 eleven facultades were offering degrees in "economics." In the years 1953-58, some 490 students finished their courses at the undergraduate level; but only 27 per cent of these finished the formal degree requirements, an additional general examination, and a thesis. Some 230 professors, of whom only twenty-one were full-time, were teaching in these schools. About 70 per cent taught less than five hours a week, and more than half less than four. Professors received little in the way of monetary reward. The maximum monthly salary was 3100 pesos ($1 US is about 7 pesos), and only five professors received more than 2500 pesos. On a "full-time equivalent" basis (of questionable statistical validity), 80 per cent of the professors received less than the full-time equivalent of 900 pesos and 32 per cent less than 500 pesos. To the extent that earned degrees measure professorial quality, the following is indicative: Of 236 professors, 55 had at least one degree in economics, 70 had degrees in law, 51 had degrees in other disciplines, and 60 had no degrees at all. Only 26 per cent had any advanced degree. At best, Colombian education in economics can be evaluated as being young and very weak. But those responsible are not satisfied; constant improvement may be expected. (This description is from John M. Hunter and James Anthony Short Ternent, *La Enseñanza de la Economía en Colombia*, Bogotá: CEDE, 1959. A less detailed account may be found in "The Teaching of Economics in Colombia," *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, Spring, 1960.)

State of economic research. Little real economic research is being done by Colombians, especially if one excludes from "research" the very important task of data collecting. Some good research is being done by governmental and semi-official agencies; next to none was being done by the universities. Considerable research of a specific nature has been done by international agencies, notably the IBRD, CEPAL, Comisión Humanismo, FAO, Robert Nathan Associates. Dr. Lauchlin Currie must be put in a special category; he led the first IBRD mission to Colombia and has since, as a naturalized citizen, done considerable excellent research on specific projects under various governmental contracts.

Universidad de los Andes. No general description of the Universidad de los Andes is necessary. It is one of the few non-church, non-governmental universities in Latin America. Although it is young, it has made an outstanding reputation as a leading and progressive university in Colombia. It is small, currently about 900 students, and growing. In terms of curricula, objectives, and methods, it more nearly resembles US colleges than it does other Colombian universities.

Initial financing. The basic financing of CEDE was a grant of the Rockefeller Foundation to the Universidad to cover the dollar salary of a gringo and his travel expenses to and from Colombia for a two-year period. A subsequent grant provided money for books and statistical equipment. At the end of the first two years, the basic grant was renewed to provide foreign leadership for a similar period. I was hired under the initial grant to direct the then nonexistent center.

Early Stages

WHEN I ARRIVED IN BOGOTÁ in September 1958 no one had much idea about what the center should do or what might be possible. The Universidad had a grant, a commitment to match it, and a director. It had designated a part-time part-time (repetition intentional) assistant director and a personal assistant to the director, and my plans were about as vague. Both of these Colombians contributed greatly to the early development of CEDE, especially in making some of the fundamental decisions. Even though both left CEDE after some months because of prior commitments, they continued to give wise counsel. The device of "personal assistant" was very useful. We interviewed people, traveled over Colombia, visited plants and farms; a major part of the assistant's assignment was to teach me as much as possible of Colombia in a short time, and this proved to be a wise investment of both our resources.

Fundamental decisions. The first few months were devoted in part to my education regarding the Colombian economy, a search for personnel, and decisions about what CEDE should do and become. These decisions are reported here:

• It was made explicit that CEDE was expected to have a long life, and that plans should point to its becoming a viable Colombian institution with Colombian leadership. The reasoning was partly pragmatic: foundation support could not be expected indefinitely. More important, it was felt that, given an initial period of grace, CEDE ought to be able to prove its value to the Colombian society and that if it could not do so there would be little justification for a continuous allocation of resources to it.

• It was decided that CEDE would not do "business" research but would restrict itself to "economic" research. This is not an easy distinction in some cases; but, crudely put, we decided not to do research which was primarily designed to improve the profit-and-loss position of a single firm. Undoubtedly, however, more financial support would have been forthcoming from this type of research. The rationale of this decision was that a number of firms were already engaged in business research on a commercial basis, and there was little reason to duplicate their facilities. More important, few Colombian resources were being devoted to "social" research, and practically none in the universities. It was felt that all our effort should try to demonstrate the value of this kind of research and the desirability of the university as a seat of the activity.

• It early became clear that financial planning was required. For the first two years, the Universidad had a clear matching commitment to the Rockefeller grant. It is doubtful that the large use of Universidad resources for this purpose was justified even then in terms of the sacrifices this imposed on other intra-Universidad organizations; it was certainly clear that the Universidad could not justifiably commit large resources to the purpose over long periods. This prompted an early decision that a good share of CEDE's budget, after the initial period, would have to come from seeking research contracts. Such contracts have the obvious advantage of being income-producing and the less obvious one of really testing one's wares in the marketplace. There are disadvantages as well.

• As the shortage of trained and competent personnel became increasingly (and alarmingly) apparent, it also became clear that CEDE would, within its prime research objective, have to undertake a continuous training program. For similar reasons, it became part of our function to develop an adequate research library.

Administrative relationships. Initially CEDE was organized as a "sister" and parallel organization with the Facultad de Economía under one dean. The dean held this position only in an honorary capacity, and essentially CEDE was a direct dependency of the Rectoriá. On my suggestion, the Facultad later absorbed CEDE, but this turned out to be more a nominal than a real change in organization. A Comité Consultivo was established early, and infant CEDE was flattered with the prestige of those who lent their names to it. This group, however, was never active because most of its members were of ministerial rank ("ex," "present," or "to-be") and were just not available for consultation as a committee. (This suggests that in such situations a decision must be made as to the proposed role of such a group. It can either be prestigious window-dressing or a working group but not both.) Individuals from the group were very helpful, however, as their help was asked for on an individual basis. Internally, CEDE had a director, and eventually an assistant director, but it did not become large enough to require anything more complicated.

Principal Problems

THE RECRUITMENT OF PERSONNEL was without doubt the most serious problem faced in the development of CEDE. At present there is not yet one native Colombian Ph.D. in economics, and those who had done some graduate work were nearly all in positions of such responsibility and at such salary levels that it would have been unwise (from the point of view of the allocation of Colombian resources) or foolish (from the salary point of view) to have tried to recruit from this limited market.

Personnel. Largely by accident, a satisfactory recruiting program was developed. The initial "staff" of CEDE was three young men who had finished their course work at the Universidad de los Andes. They were hired at nominal salaries for a four-month period. They selected research tasks of interest to themselves and to the Center and also acceptable to the Facultad as theses. In addition to their salaries, CEDE provided travel money, secretarial assistance, supervision, etcetera, for their research. In essence, this was a subsidization of their thesis writing. When these tasks were completed and the degree requirements met, all three were offered permanent appointments in CEDE and accepted. This procedure proved to be so satisfactory that the program was later made more formal to include students from other universities, and budgetary arrangements were made to carry at least three such asistentes throughout the year. This plan offered obvious advantages to both the asistente and to CEDE. Although no great numbers have ever been involved, the scheme did ultimately provide the bulk of the professional staff, and I assume that this will be a convenient pool for replacement and expansion needs in the future.

This was not the only recruitment, and with other than monetary inducements, people were hired from other positions.

Training. All staff members had had at least some research experience when they became full-fledged staff members (some through the asistente route), but none had had much and none had earned more than the B.A. degree or its Colombian equivalent. Training was undertaken in three ways:

• The least formal but most important method was the close day-to-day participation of the director in project development and supervision. Frequent informal staff meetings were held to discuss progress and problems. Through this close cooperation, a great deal was learned by the staff members and myself about project design, research techniques, editing, and other factors.

• Later, a series of seminars was instituted with speakers from outside the Universidad who were engaged in economic research of one sort or another.

• Perhaps in the long run the most important part of the training aspects will be the efforts to secure graduate training. One staff member is now completing his second year of leave at the University of Illinois. He should complete the Ph.D. degree by June 1961 and return to become CEDE's director at the expiration of the present grant. Another member is beginning graduate work at Stanford University. At least a part of the responsibility for these opportunities lies with CEDE; other opportunities were sought, and it is probable that this part of the program will have to be continued indefinitely. Recipients of such opportunities agree to return to CEDE for an unspecified period, and budgetary planning will make attractive salaries available to them.

Other than for asistentes, salaries were not an important recruiting device although an important breakthrough on salary policy was achieved to make our salaries at least mildly competitive. Most attractive to prospective staff members, I think, were the seriousness of the research being done, the congeniality of the group, the training opportunities, the freedom from the usual harassments associated with working in governmental offices, and the possibilities of training abroad. CEDE offered, too, considerable personal prestige. Staff members were essentially the only people who were devoting their full capacities to studying and thinking about Colombian economic problems. One significant personnel policy was that staff members were full-time employees. By a substantial majority, the staff interpreted

this to mean that teaching a course on their own time was excluded. In their "free" time, they studied and wrote book reviews and articles that were published in the most influential Colombian journals. These activities, plus the high level of the persons with whom we dealt, contributed to the prestige of individual staff members.

Financing. As previously noted, the basic financing of the Center came from a Rockefeller Foundation grant and the Universidad's commitment to match this in local funds. The Universidad more than met its commitment and only on rare occasions was there financial pressure on the part of CEDE for its operations. Inability to recruit severely restricted the need for funds, although my knowledge of the general financial situation of the Universidad led to considerable restraint in asking for them.

It was apparent that the Universidad could not indefinitely continue its financial support to the extent of some $25,000 US per year. Thus, contracting became a necessity. In these first two years, no real effort was made directly to promote contracts; eventually, through personal contacts and the growing reputation of CEDE, substantial contract income was developed. In the past few months, the new director has developed considerably more through these means.

A budgetary agreement was reached with the Universidad which I assume will be continued. CEDE was given a maximum-minimum budget by the Universidad, the maximum support to be given when no contract research was forthcoming. Beyond that, contract income was to be shared equally by the Universidad (through a reduction of its budget liability to CEDE) and the Center except that the Universidad would provide a minimum (around $10,000 US) for certain overhead expenses, library acquisitions, etcetera. This furnished a means both for reducing the Universidad's contribution and for CEDE's expansion. Providing CEDE succeeds in establishing a solid reputation, this sort of arrangement should adequately meet its financial needs.

Indirectly, this long-run budgetary pressure did somewhat condition the research done. We tended to concentrate on projects that would produce publishable results in a relatively short time rather than on long-term team projects that would have tied up a substantial part of the staff for long periods without apparent results. Most studies were published (in mimeograph form) by CEDE and distributed free.

Research. In the two-year period, an acceptable quantity of research was completed; quality suffered from inexperience and more difficult research conditions than would have been met in the USA. Nonetheless, considering the circumstances, the quality of the work done was reasonably good. A list of projects completed before August 1, 1960, is appended at the end of this article.

Initially, we started making a research catalog, a list of projects that seemed to be of interest, possible, and within our expected means. This led immediately to the problem of searching to discover whether there had been other work done on these problems. It was found that bibliographic aids were very poor and that no central information was available concerning research completed in governmental agencies and elsewhere. One of the more ambitious programs undertaken, then, became the compilation of an annotated bibliography. This subsequently was published and contains some 1700 items divided roughly between economic development in general and the Colombian economy in particular. A second volume is planned, and much of the work for it has been done.

The criteria used for selecting research projects were at best not well defined. In terms of contract research, the ultimate wishes of the "customer" were governing. For projects of the asistentes, time was an important factor because of the desirability of completing their degree requirements. In many cases, the lack of basic data necessitated negative decisions on otherwise desirable projects. Other than these, choices were made on the basis of the importance of the project, the capabilities and interests of staff members, and the probabilities of finding significant results. Already mentioned was the notion that for public relations reasons, other things being equal, a short project was preferred to a long one.

It is inappropriate here to catalog all the research difficulties encountered. Mention of a few of them, however, suggests something of the environment. Available data, as expected, were not consistently good—to be charitable. Frequently, data known to exist were "reserved" by one or more governmental agencies. This practice was, I trust, a hold-over from the days of the dictatorship and will be progressively discarded. Much of our work was done with primary sources and, because of the pressures of time and funds, with imperfectly drawn samples from ill-defined universes. As critical as this sounds, we were well aware of these weaknesses and could see no way in which we could improve upon our methods. A problem of a different nature concerns one contract project that produced results contrary to the preconceptions of the group for whom the study was done. Further, the results did not support the position being taken by this group on a particular issue. It was then suggested that payment for the study would be "delayed" until more palatable results could be "found." At last report, this was in the hands of the Universidad's lawyer.

Library. The library cost considerably more in time and effort than was anticipated. By June, 1960, 1151 books and 1411 reprints and pamphlets had been acquired. Numerous periodicals were also being received. All this was requiring the full-time services of two persons. No trained librarians were available, so with some help two of us "learned" enough to be able at least to find the things we owned. Certainly, however, our methods would have made a professional librarian cringe.

One very useful activity led to a valuable collection. Letters were sent to experts in economic development all over the world asking for contributions of their reprints, and the response was gratifying. Also useful was the practice of staff "analysis" of journals (i.e., classifying articles in periodicals). This at once provided an acquaintance with the journals and made our library catalog immensely more valuable. The library now publishes regularly a "duplicate" list for exchange purposes and an acquisition list which is useful for other libraries interested in building up their collections in the same areas.

Factors of Success

I was satisfied with the progress of CEDE in its first two years and expect that it will continue to contribute to the Colombian scene. No effort is made to generalize, but it seems useful in conclusion to list those factors that contributed to whatever success we had:

- Of prime importance was the genuine interest and continuous support of the Universidad de los Andes. It was deeply committed both financially and morally from the beginning and had great interest in CEDE's progress. In this, it was willing to make important sacrifices in the early stages so that a staff could be recruited and partially trained before it was necessary to seek independent contract

financing. A more simpatico group of people with whom to work could not be found than the dean of the Facultad and those in administrative offices in the Universidad.

• Good luck led to the developing of a staff, professional and otherwise, which was congenial, loyal, and dedicated to the objectives of an institution such as CEDE.

• As a foreigner, I was probably able to accomplish more than an equally well qualified Colombian might have, at least in broaching such traditions as pitifully low salaries, etc. It does not follow, however, that if one gringo is good, five would be five times as good. In spite of its foreign leadership, CEDE was generally considered to be a Colombian institution.

• It was pleasant to be free of responsibility to any government. The only contact CEDE had with governments was in contracting for research, in which case the burden of red tape weighed heavily.

• The fact that the Universidad is young and flexible with few hard traditions made innovation easier than it otherwise would have been.

• The continued interest of the foundations and others in the forms of grants, gifts, and scholarships for graduate study also contributed much and, if continued, will contribute even more in the future.

• Two years was an absolutely minimum time for the activity; substantially less would have made the effort hardly worth while for myself or the Universidad.

Research Completed by CEDE to 1 August 1960

Reports on these projects are available through CEDE, Universidad de los Andes, Aptdo. Aereo 4976, Bogotá, Colombia.

Javier Alvarez C., *Finanzas Públicas Departamentales y Municipales Comparadas en Colombia, 1957,* Monografía 5, Junio, 1960.

Lucia Cruz H., *Los Gastos de la Nación en los Departamentos, 1957,* Monografía 4, Junio, 1960.

Guillermo Franco C., *Mercado de la Papa Respecto a Bogotá, D.E.,* Monografía 2, Agosto, 1959.

Industria Artesanal del Tolima, Monografía 8, Julio, 1960. Alvaro González G. con Gloria Monotas W., Lucía Cruz H., Javier Alvarez C. y Rafáel Prieto D., *Estudio Comparativo de Sueldos Bancarios con los de otras Actividades* (not published).

John M. Hunter, *International Communications between Scholars in the Social Sciences, Ecuador and Bolivia,* Diciembre, 1959.

Aspectos de la Organización y Funcionamiento de la Universidad de Los Andes, Octubre, 1959.

y James Anthony S. Ternent, *La Enseñanza de la Economía en Colombia,* Julio, 1959. Also in: *Journal of Inter-American Affairs,* April, 1960.

y James Anthony S. Ternent, *Población Ingresos y Requisitos de Capital, Colombia, 1957-1975,* Monografía 3, Febrero, 1960. Reprinted in: *Economía Grancolombiana,* Año II, Vol. 2, No. 5, and *Boletín Cámara Colombiana de la Construcción,* Año II, No. 29.

James Anthony S. Ternent con Alfonso Vergara S., *Problemas del Pequeño Agricultor en Climas Cálidos del Tolima,* Monografía 9, Julio, 1960.

Rafáel Prieto D., *Evolución de una Urbanización en Bogotá,* Monografía 7, Julio, 1960.

Humberto Vegalara, *Bibliografía, El Desarrollo Económico y la Economía Colombiana,* Noviembre, 1959.

Alfonso Vergara S., *Mercadeo del Arroz en Bogotá,* Monografía 1, Agosto, 1959.

Eduardo Wiesner D., *Barreras Artificiales a la Inversión Doméstica en la Industria Nacional.* Reimpresión 1, Mayo, 1960. Originally published in: *Revista del Banco de la República,* Septiembre, 1959.

Barreras Artificiales a la Inversión Extranjera en la Industria Nacional, Reimpresión 2, Mayo, 1960. Originally published in: *Revista del Banco de la República,* Enero 1960.

International Communications between Scholars in the Social Sciences and Humanities, Colombia and Venezuela, Diciembre, 1959.

Control Personal de la Economía Colombiana, Monografía 6, Julio, 1960.

NOTICES

More University Training Programs

THE FOLLOWING THREE announcements arrived too late to be included in Andrew E. Rice's compilation of "Training Programs in International Development and Overseas Service in US and Canadian Universities" in our February 1961 issue:

INSTITUTION: **University of California—Institute of International Studies and University Extension**—*Berkeley, California*/ PROGRAM: **Community Development Program**/ DESCRIPTION: This is a one-semester program for training foreign officials interested in community development and American officials planning to go overseas in this field. The program relates the perspectives of the several behavioral sciences and professional disciplines to the broad area of human problems in planned social change. About 20 faculty members participate, from the fields of anthropology, political science, agricultural extension, economics, urban and regional planning, social welfare, education, psychology, sociology, public health. Work at the university is supplemented by supervised field observations in California, Arizona (Navajo reservations), Jamaica, Puerto Rico. To date (Mar. 1961) 19 countries have sent participants./ FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ADDRESS: **J. D. Mezirow, Coordinator of Programs.**

INSTITUTION: **Harvard University—Graduate School of Public Administration**—*6 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts*/PROGRAM: **Public Service Fellowships in Economic Development**/DESCRIPTION: With Ford Foundation funds, Harvard University offers Fellowships in Economic Development to public officials from developing countries, to enable them, through study and research, to improve their competence for dealing with policy issues related to economic development. Fellows normally spend one academic year at Harvard. In addition, a fellow normally spends approximately six weeks visiting government departments, international agencies, and other operating organizations in North America and Europe, as part of his study program. While at Harvard, fellows enroll in regular courses for postgraduate students (primarily in the field of economics), but the program is flexible and allows for special interests. Courses may be arranged, where appropriate, in other departments and schools of the University. Fellows will usually receive the degree of Master in Public Administration, conferred on students who have had previous experience in government service, after the satisfactory completion of four courses, including one seminar./FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ADDRESS: **Secretary, Public Service Fellowships.**

INSTITUTION: **University of Oregon—Institute of International Studies and Overseas Administration**—*Eugene, Oregon*/PROGRAM: **Overseas Administration**/DESCRIPTION: The Overseas Administration program is designed for graduate students who work for an advanced degree with a major in any subject in a professional school, the humanities, or the natural or social sciences, and who over the same period wish to complete requirements for a second MA degree in Overseas Administration. Students in this program spend an additional year beyond the one year normally required to complete requirements for their school or departmental Master's degree. Candidates for doctoral degrees may also take part in the Overseas Administration program./FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ADDRESS: **John Gange, Director.**

Fellowships for Lawyers

THE FORD FOUNDATION will receive applications for fellowships for research in law and public affairs and in international and foreign legal problems for the 1962-63 academic year until 15 November 1961. Law faculty members are eligible if their schools belong to the Association of American Law Schools and if they have taught for at least two academic years. The primary purpose of the fellowships is to foster the scholarly develop-

ment of outstanding younger teachers by enabling them to broaden their knowledge of the law as it relates to public and international problems and affairs. The long-term aim is to strengthen the education of American law students for public and international responsibilities. Application forms and information may be obtained from the Ford Foundation, Law Faculty Fellowships, 477 Madison Avenue, New York 22, NY.

BOOKS

WE GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGE receipt of the following books and reports from the publishers. Unless otherwise noted, the annotations enclosed in quotation marks are drawn either from the introduction (or preface) to the book or from the publisher's descriptive material. SID members are identified by a small circle supra°.

H. McKinley Conway, Jr.°, & Frank H. Stedman, Jr., Editors. Area Development: A Guide for Community Leaders. 2 vols., in loose-leaf binders. Conway Publications, Inc. (Atlanta 19, Georgia). Termed "An International Guide to Industrial Planning and Expansion," these two large, attractively presented volumes, to be followed by supplementary material every three months, are sold on a subscription basis. The first volume is a bibliography organized in 9 main groupings; the second volume is text. Though primarily USA-oriented, many of the examples might be illuminating and the principles useful elsewhere.

Embassy of France. Hour of Independence Series. The Republic of Niger (October 1960). The Republic of Dahomey (November 1960). The Republic of Chad (January 1961). The Republic of Congo (January 1961). The Gabon Republic (February 1961). In our last issue we mentioned with praise five of these reports on newly independent African states (Senegal, Malagasy, Upper Volta, Central African Republic, Mauritania). The five new additions are as attractively informative in illustrations and text.

Samuel P. Hayes.° An International Peace Corps: The Promise and Problems. Public Affairs Institute (312 Pennsylvania Avenue SE, Washington 3, DC). 1961. 96 pp., paper. $1.00. "This pamphlet is an extension of a memorandum on 'An International Youth Service' prepared by the author in September, 1960, at the request of President Kennedy's campaign staff. . . . The need quickly appeared for an informal but fairly detailed presentation of the principal issues raised in discussion of the proposal, and the principal points of view expressed. This pamphlet was prepared to meet this need. . . . It is hoped that the principles developed here will prove sound guides for the future."

INTERCOM, Vol. 3, No. 2. Careers in World Affairs, with a Salute to the Peace Corps. Foreign Policy Association—World Affairs Center (345 East 46th Street, New York 17, NY). 64 pp., paper. $.75. From the introductory statement by Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., Director of the Peace Corps: "Included in this guide . . . are many of the voluntary organizations, universities, foundations, trade unions, businesses, civic groups and religious organizations whose resources, energies and experiences we [of the Peace Corps] intend to tap. It also points to thousands of opportunities for Americans of all ages to devote their energies and many kinds of skill, for short periods or through whole careers, to the same public service objectives to which the Peace Corps is dedicated." INTERCOM is an ably run "information service [it prefers not to be called a magazine] reporting on new programs, books, techniques, visual aids, pamphlets, speakers, public opinion and sources of information."

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.° The Economic Development of Tanganyika. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. 1961. 548 pp. $8.50. This report of the 18th general economic survey mission organized by the World Bank "should be useful to all who are interested in the development of tropical Africa. . . . The Report gives a general view of the present state of the economy and of the prospects and problems of further development, with particular attention to the difficulties which arise as land in use deteriorates and as easy possibilities of taking more land into use become fewer. . . . While the focus is largely on agriculture and livestock development, attention is also paid to ways of stimulating the mining, manufacturing and tourist industries, to the further development of transport facilities, and to the provision of greater educational opportunities for African children."

Jonathan V. Levin. The Export Economies: Their Pattern of Development in Historical Perspective. Harvard University Press. 1960. 347 pp. $6.75. "Mr. Levin [of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York] combines general historical and economic analyses, aimed at exploring the over-all pattern of frustrated development in the export [raw material] economies and the forms of their current revolt, with specific case studies on Peru in the guano export boom of the nineteenth century and on Burma's recent experience with its rice marketing board. . . . The author finds many generally accepted theories of international trade inapplicable to the export economies and proposes several important changes in them. He also presents and analyzes for the first time the whole spectrum of tax and other instruments now used by export economy governments particularly against foreign enterprise." The book is a product of the Harvard Law School International Program in Taxation.

Walter S. Salant° & Beatrice N. Vaccara. Import Liberalization and Employment. The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC. 1961. 388 pp. $6.75. From the Foreword by Robert D. Calkins: "Estimates of the effects on employment of reducing tariffs and other barriers to imports have varied widely ever since the subject has been publicly discussed in quantitative terms. . . . The question of what decreases in employment might result in the short run under given conditions seemed to us to warrant an effort to develop a method of estimating and to trace through some of the indirect effects of reducing import restrictions. . . . It is significant that the decreases in employment . . . are found to be considerably less than is often assumed. . . . The book is designed for both professional and nonprofessional readers."

Laurence F. Schmeckebier & Roy B. Eastin. Government Publications and Their Use. The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC. 1961. 476 pp. $6.00. "This new edition of a book first published . . . in 1936 and revised in 1939 takes account of the many changes and great growth in the field during the past 21 years. . . . The publications of the government of the United States make up a great library . . . of such scope that access to it is often a confusing maze to would-be users, even when they are experienced researchers." This manual is the thread that enables one to find his way through the maze. It is not a catalog of publications but a guide to all the *kinds* of publications available, including periodicals and microfacsimile copies.

SRI Journal, Vol. 5, 2nd quarter 1961. Light on Growth for Free Peoples. Stanford Research Institute.° April 1961. 92 pp., paper. $1.00. From the leading article by William B. Dale°: "To treat Cuba or Indonesia or Guinea like hills or command posts or harbors to be denied to the enemy is not only grotesquely to miscontrue the great problems of the age in which we live, but also to place the free system in a crudely defensive and defiant position before the world. To view them as opportunities for creative, progressive, cooperative action places them properly in the historic framework of democracy's revolutionary impulse."

World Bank. Loans at Work. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development,° Washington, DC. March 1961. Free. Any tattered old tramp pressing his nose against the plate-glass window of a swank restaurant would understand perfectly why a battered old mister-could-you-spare-a-dime editor's mouth waters as he turns these 36 delectable pages of photographs depicting the ministrations of The Bank to world economic need.

SID: Third Conference

Transactions

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society convened on Saturday morning 29 April 1961—the second day of the third SID conference—and took the following action:

• Approved the reports of the Executive Secretary, Treasurer, Editor, and Nominations Committee Chairman. These reports are printed below.

• Approved 8 amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws, as reported below by the General Counsel.

• Elected the officers and Council members proposed in the slate prepared by the Nominations Committee. The names proposed are listed in the committee's report below.

Discussion of the constitutional amendments was concerned with one point only, mentioned in the General Counsel's report—the need to be sure that the procedures to be established by the Council for conducting elections by mail do in fact provide for genuinely democratic action and guard against control by any group. MC

Report of the Executive Secretary—1960

THE REPORT THIS YEAR, like that of a year ago, may be summarized in a single sentence: great progress has been made, but many problems still remain.

A number of events occurred during 1960 that are evidence of real progress by the Society. The annual meeting was held on March 11 and 12. Nearly 400 persons registered. The program was splendid, and high enthusiasm was evident among participants. Volume II Number 1 of the *International Development Review*, dated May 1960, was in the mail during the first few days of June; 68 pages long, it contained many articles and reports from the second annual conference. Volume II, Number 2, dated October 1960 and in the mail by the end of that month, contained 48 pages of excellent articles and news. A feature of this issue was five articles on people-to-people technical assistance. Accompanying this issue was a 16 page directory of Society members, which included the alphabetical, numerical, geographic, and organizational listing of the original directory of a year earlier.

Membership in the Society grew during 1960. At the beginning of the year, we had about 750 members; in March, at the time of the annual conference, about 1,000; in the directory, as of September 1, 1122; at the end of December, about 1250. Today (29 April 1961) we have about 1,600. All of these figures are for *net* membership—that is, currently active members. Some losses of memberships are inevitable; a few members have died; some others have asked to be dropped, usually because they felt they belonged to more organizations than they could participate in. To date, we have been lenient about the payment of membership dues. Many members pay slowly, either because they receive dues notices after considerable delay, or for other reasons. But we have dropped those persistently delinquent in dues; in 1960, we dropped over 50 names for this reason. The number dropped will almost certainly rise in the future. Every organization faces the problem of losses in membership. In order to grow in membership, we must add names to replace those who drop out, as well as additional names.

One gratifying development in 1960 was the rise in library subscriptions to the *Review*. At the beginning of 1960, we had only about a dozen library subscriptions; on September 1, in the directory we listed 93; today we have nearly 150. Copies of the *Review* in libraries usually reach many more people than do copies going to individuals. Subscriptions are also a good source of revenue.

A major development during 1960 was the formation of local chapters of the Society. At the beginning of the year, the only chapter was the one in New York. Four others were added during 1960. In February, one was organized in Washington; in June, one was started in Michigan; in August, our first two chapters outside the USA were organized—one in Madras, the other in Bombay. The latter two owe much to the impetus given by Michael Hoffman when he visited India for the International Bank, and by President Prasad when on home leave in India. Reports about these chapters were included in the *Review*. Several other chapters were in gestation at the end of 1960. In these first months of 1961, initial meetings to establish chapters have been held in Ankara and in Karachi. Considerable interest has been expressed by various groups in Geneva, Paris, Berlin, Manila, Khartoum, Santiago, Israel, and New Delhi; also at Indiana University in the United States. In other cities, interest has been expressed but plans are not so far along.

As to finances, the Society has also made some progress. Our 1960 total income was somewhat above that for 1959. The Treasurer's Reports for each year are published in the *Review*, for comparison by those interested. The funds available permitted the publication of only two issues of the *Review* in 1960. The Society was slightly in debt at the beginning of the year, somewhat more so at the end—but debts were relatively small and in each case confined to part of the last printer's bill for the *Review*. The big financial news for 1961 is: (1) the Society gained its tax exempt status on January 31, as reported in the *Review*, Vol. III No. 1; and (2) on April 6 the Board of Directors of Resources for the Future approved a grant of $10,000 for two years' general organizational support of the Society. These are highly encouraging; they do not solve the Society's financial problems, but they are a major help. We hope this is but the first grant; we shall continue to seek funds to enlarge the scope of activities of the Society.

A few other items relating to 1960 deserve mention. In November the Society moved its office from 1145 Nineteenth Street to 1725 K Street in Washington. The offices of the Executive Secretary, of the Editor, of the Treasurer, and of other officials continued to operate during the year almost wholly on donated time. With the growth in membership and in activities of the Society, the volume of work has grown until it is burdensome on the individuals concerned to donate the necessary time. Now that the grant has been received, it is necessary to move the offices of the Society again, in order to gain more room, and to employ some secretarial assistance for the executive secretary. Accordingly, **the new office of the Society will be established on May 1 at 1720 Rhode Island Avenue, NW., Washington 6, DC,** and Mrs. Edith Kolker has been employed as a part-time secretary. We hope the present arrangement will continue for a couple of years or longer.

An annual meeting is an appropriate time for a careful look ahead. What are the prospects and problems of the Society? To answer this, it seems to me we need to have in mind rather clearly what our goals and objectives are. The statement that follows is the personal opinion of the executive secretary, in the sense that it has not been officially adopted by the officers or membership of the Society; at the same time, it reflects, as he understands it, a generally held view as to the Society's goals and objectives.

The Society for International Development, in my opinion, should seek to become a truly international, worldwide organization which will draw in a major proportion of all the persons engaged or deeply interested in international development. Our purpose is to facilitate the "exchange of ideas, facts, and experience," as our *Review* states. The Society is professional in the sense that its members are trained, serious, and interested in such exchange of facts and ideas; it is not professional in the sense of an organization that seeks to further the status and fortunes of its members. I believe the Society has a truly major role to play in one of the most significant economic and social movements of our generation, namely, the development of the undeveloped parts of the world.

If these broad goals are to be realized, the Society must look forward to 40 or 50 local chapters, in many of the major capital or other cities of the world. Each such local chapter must serve as a major point of contact for workers living in the local area, and also as a means whereby visitors can reach local people, and vice versa. I visualize the time—I hope within a very few years—when anyone from any country visiting a new country on development matters will think of the local SID chapter as his first point of contact. We must look forward to a greatly increased membership—to 5,000 members as soon as we can get them, in

order to reach financial stability, but 30,000 or more as an ultimate goal. In view of the large numbers of men and women in many countries working in this field, these are realistic goals. The *Review* must be published regularly, first on a quarterly basis, then perhaps six times a year, some day perhaps monthly. The Society must obtain much larger revenues from dues of more members, from advertising in the *Review*, and by grants. This is necessary if it is to carry on its necessary business and to publish the *Review* regularly and at the high standard already established. But we wish to go far beyond this, to undertake additional activities in this general field.

The Society will grow and attain its potential to the degree that its members help. The officers of the Society can and will do a great deal, but the real strength will come from widespread membership participation. Members can help establish local chapters and recruit members; where chapters exist, they can help with their programs; and members can write for the *Review*. By far the most effective means of gaining the larger membership we need is the effort of individual members to recruit others.

MARION CLAWSON

Report of the Editor—1960

SINCE COMMENTS about the *International Development Review*, good or bad, should come from others rather than from the editor, there is little for me to report except that since the last conference, in March 1960, we have published three issues—May 1960, October 1960, February 1961. All appear to have been well thought of, and the *Review* appears to be gaining a favorable international reputation.

I have not been bashful about making difficulties and handicaps known via the editorial pages, and they need not be repeated here. The response to our editorial plea for good material has been very encouraging. The flow of unsolicited manuscripts is increasing, and authors have been cooperative in preparing articles on request.

Otherwise the *Review* speaks for itself. We hope to publish at least two more issues this year (May, September), and if funds are available, a fourth in 1961.

I regard the editing of the *Review* as an exceptionally interesting, challenging adventure in a lifetime of interesting and challenging adventures.

GOVE HAMBIDGE

Nominating Committee Report—1961

THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE of the Society for International Development this year had the benefit of a substantial sheaf of nominations for all offices sent in by members from all parts of the world, in response to the canvass of the membership by the executive secretary. The members of the Nominating Committee were deeply impressed by the conscientious and lively interest exhibited by SID members, many of whom submitted helpful letters.

The Committee would like to have made individual acknowledgment of every communication received, explaining in each case whether the nominees were approached but unable to serve, were not approached because of their apparent isolation from headquarters, or were believed by the committee to be more suitable for consideration in some subsequent year than in 1961. Individual acknowledgment was manifestly impossible—a large percentage of the communications were anonymous—and the committee therefore makes this collective acknowledgment.

In order to provide maximum participation in the management of the Society, it was agreed that there should be a large measure of rotation of office, at least during the early years. Two other general principles were agreed upon, namely: (a) The presidents of local chapters should be made ex-officio members of the Council of the Society, thus broadening the governing structure of the organization. (b) In order to give all members an opportunity to vote for their officers, the Society should move as rapidly as possible toward the conduct of elections by mail rather than at the annual conference.

Both of these actions require amendment of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society. [Appropriate amendments to Sections 13 and 17, supported by the Nominating Committee, were passed by the conference, as noted elsewhere in this section of the *Review*.]

The Committee also supports such action as may be necessary to create the offices of Regional Vice-President for Latin America and Regional Vice-President for Asia. It felt that the election of regional vice-presidents in regions in which the SID has fewer than 100 members would be premature. Accordingly, in 1961, nominations have been made for three regional vice-presidents: North America, Latin America, and Asia.

The recommendations of the Nominating Committee for President, for three Regional Vice-Presidents, and for replacements for the five retiring members of the Council are carried in Annex A, together with identifying information about each candidate. [Note: In this issue of the *Review* names of the nominees are given below; biographical information is included in the Biograph section.] The nominees are highly distinguished and highly competent persons; the committee is proud of having obtained their consent to serve as officers of our growing organization.

ROBERT E. ASHER, *Chairman*
E. GORDON ALDERFER — ISADOR LUBIN
MARION CLAWSON — ROBERT R. NATHAN

Annex A—Nominees, 1961

For President: Dr. José Antonio Mayobre
For Vice President: Dr. Henry Van Zile Hyde
Regional Vice-President for Asia: Ramon Binamira
Regional Vice-President for Latin America: Raul Prebisch
Regional Vice-President for North America: Luther H. Evans
For Council Members: Lukas Burckhardt • Murray D. Bryce • Gordon R. Clapp • Gengo Suzuki • Robert Theobald

Constitutional Amendments

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING of SID 29 April 1961, the members approved eight amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws which the Council had recommended to the membership.

The text of these amendments is not included in this report because the full text of the Constitution and By-Laws as amended (together with the full text of the Certificate of Incorporation of SID as amended) will be printed in the next issue of the Review.

The first three amendments revised the wording of Section 2 of the Constitution and By-Laws stating the purposes of the Society; revised Section 3 describing the activities of the Society; and added a new Section 31 to provide for the disposition of assets of the Society in case of dissolution. All three of these amendments were proposed solely to meet the suggestions of the Internal Revenue Service of the United States Government for clearly establishing the eligibility of the Society to receive tax-exempt status under current U.S. regulations. They involve no substantive change whatsoever in the purposes or activities of SID as originally incorporated in the Constitution and By-Laws.

The fourth amendment amends Section 13 to provide that the president of each local chapter of the Society shall serve ex officio as a member of the Council. The purpose is to strengthen the lines of communication between the parent Society and its local chapters. We shall attempt to obtain grants from private foundations to finance the international travel costs of the chapter presidents so that they may attend an annual meeting of the Council on the day preceding the annual membership Conference.

The last four amendments have amended Sections 17, 20, 21, and 22 of the Constitution and By-Laws in order to substitute a mail ballot for election of elective officers and Council members for the earlier system of election by voice vote at the annual Conference. This amendment is intended to make possible participation by all members in the annual elections instead of only those who can attend the Conference. The Council will soon draft regulations to establish suitable procedures for conducting the annual elections by mail, as authorized under these amendments. Suggestions from individual members or local chapters concerning the procedures—for example, to ensure that they do actually provide for effective democratic participation—will be welcome and should be addressed to the Executive Secretary.

PHILIP M. GLICK, *General Counsel*

Financial Statement—1960

BALANCE ON HAND 1 January 1960			$ 707.37
RECEIPTS FOR PERIOD:			
Dues:			
New individual members	$3,897.04		
New sustaining & institutional members	675.00		
Renewals, sustaining & institutional	1,650.00		
Renewals, individual members	3,656.00		
		$ 9,878.04	
Sale of *Review* (including subscriptions)		1,025.55	
Proceeds from Conference (1960 only*)		844.99	
Drewes Book Fund		25.60	
Miscellaneous		156.50	
TOTAL RECEIPTS			11,930.68
TOTAL CASH ON HAND AND RECEIPTS			12,638.05
EXPENSES AND DISBURSEMENTS:			
Layout and Printing of *Review*	6,087.60		
Mailing and Postage for *Review*	531.32		
Editorial Office Expenses	908.27		
Editorial Fees and Expenses	800.00		
Executive Secretary Office Expenses	2,611.49		
Office Rent	500.00		
Treasurer's Office Expense	138.48		
Repayment of loans	500.00		
Expenses of Washington Chapter	58.90		
TOTAL EXPENSES AND DISBURSEMENTS		12,136.06	
CASH ON HAND 31 December 1960		$ 501.99	
ACCOUNTS PAYABLE as of 31 December 1960		2,461.96	
NET FINANCIAL POSITION 31 December 1960 deficit		($1,959.97)	

JEROME JACOBSON, *Treasurer*

*CONFERENCE ACCOUNT (1960)			
Receipts: General			$ 3,955.38
Book Display			139.50
TOTAL			4,094.88
Expenses: 1960		3,249.89	
1959		250.00	3,499.89
Proceeds			$ 594.99

CHRONOLOGY

January-March 1961

ABRAHAM M. HIRSCH

GENERAL: **UN** report indicates world population now growing 45-55 m yearly; will pass 3000 m in 1961./ In 1950's, **India** pop rose 21.5% (to 438 m) and **Pakistan's** 23.7% (to 93.8 m).

US AID PROGRAMS: Message of Pres. Kennedy to Congress (Mar. 22) stresses "hand in hand" dev of econ growth and political democracy, urges 1960's become "decade of development." Advances new principles for US aid: unified administration, thorough long-range country plans, long-term financing, emphasis on "businesslike relations" in lending, multilateral efforts by industrialized nations, & special attention to nations willing & able to mobilize own resources, make social & econ reforms, & other efforts to reach "stage of self-sustaining growth." Proposes unification of **ICA, DLF, PL 480 programs, Peace Corps,** local currency lending of **Ex-Im Bk,** and other related programs./ **Peace Corps** establ by exec order on March 1, to place Americans in actual operational work in newly developing areas. **PC** members will serve 2-3 years, live with people they are helping. R. Sargent Shriver appointed **PC** director.

PLANS, SURVEYS, REPORTS: **Israel** GNP rose 8-9% in 1960, industr prod up 13-14%./ Spain net domest prod decreased 6% from 1959./ **Greece** national income rose 4.8%./ **Thailand** to surv land & water resourc in 1961./ 1960-64 **Cambodia** 5-yr pl calls for ann incr of 3% in per cap income; emphasizes prod expans made poss by power from Lower Mekong Basin develop./ **Yugoslav** indust prod incr 16% in 1960, agric prod down 5.7%./ **Mexico** GNP in 1960 up about 7% over '59./ **Colombia** 4-yr pl (1961-64) seeks investm of ca $1000 m./ **Korea** announc extensive econ reform plan, 1961-64 (Mar)./ **Malaya** 2nd 5-yr pl (Jan 1961-Dec 1965) to raise natl output by 22%—15% in agric, 50-75% in industr; to cost $1680 m./ **IBRD** mission report, *Economic Development of Tanganyika,* published (Johns Hopkins U Press, $8.50); stresses develop of agric + livestock, but emphasizes industr possibilities in consumers' products; urges increase in education [**Tanganyika** to become indep in Dec 1961]./ **IBRD** mission arrives **Kuwait** to advise on econ develop; headed by Amjad Ali of **Pakistan.**/ **IBRD** mission arrives **Spain** to study long-term econ devel program; headed by Sir Hugh Ellis-Rees of **UK** (Mar).

ORGANIZATIONAL: **Ghana, Guinea, Mali** plan joint econ policies (Jan)./ **UN Econ Comm for Africa** drafts resolution for African develop bank./ Montevideo Treaty for Latin American Free Trade Zone & Association signed by **Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay** (Feb)./ **Afro-Malagasy Economic Cooperation Organization** formed by **Cameroons, Central African Rep., Chad, Congo Rep.** (Brazzaville), **Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mauretania, Niger, Senegal, Volta Rep.**/ **Portugal** joins **IBRD, IMF; Nigeria** ditto + **IFC** (Mar).

IBRD LOANS: $15 m, **Mexico,** irrigation; $14 m, **Burma,** railr modernization (Jan); $8.8 m, **Costa Rica,** Rio Macho & other electr pow expansion; $30 m, **Yugoslavia,** Velebit 216,000 kw hydropow plant (Feb); $8.4 m, **Uganda,** expand Owen Falls hydropow distrib network; $12 m, **Japan,** Kyushu thermal electr plant (Mar).

DLF LOANS: **DLF** loans in 1960 totalled over $950 m./ **DLF** with **Ex-Im Bk,** $9 m, **Guatemala,** highway (Jan)./ $129.6 m, **Turkey,** steel works expansion; $12.7 m, **Vietnam,** 33,000 kw thermal pow plant; $5.1 m, **Tunisia,** airport modernization; $3.2 m, **Ceylon,** new major airport near Colombo; $1.9 m, **Tanganyika,** road building; $1.3 m, **UAR,** telecommunication links betw Syrian & Egyptian regions (Jan); $3.2 m, **Korea,** nylon yarn plant; $6 m, **Israel,** telephone syst expansion (Feb); $2.1 m, **Phillipines,** explosives manufacturing; $5 m, **Venezuela,** housing (Mar).

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK LOANS: (see also DLF loans)/ $2.5 m, **Brazil,** electr equipm; $50 m, **Argentina,** highway & construction, & $5.8 m, industr equipm; $18.5 m, **India,** paper machinery; $2 m, **Phillipines,** meat packing equipm; $2.9 m, **Venezuela,** equipm for manufacturing carbon black & other manufacturing; $13 m, **Phillipines,** copper & zinc industry (Jan); $8.7 m, **Spain,** hydropower equipm; $5 m, **Phillipines,** Manila airport modernization; $13.8 m, **Mexico,** railroad equipm; $25 m, **Japan,** finance industr projects; $8.5 m, **Italy,** 2 ALITALIA jetliners; $50 m, **Venezuela,** various projects; $9.5 m, **Colombia,** 2 AVIANCA jetliners; $15 m, **Chile,** finance essential imports; $9.1 m, **Argentina,** construction bagasse pulp & paper mill (Feb); $42 m, **Chile,** electr power expansion; $25 m, **Israel,** various equipm; $20 m, **Peru,** highway & secondary road expansion; $13 m, **Spain,** steel industry equipm (Mar).

OTHER: **Canada** grant to **India,** $25 m (Jan)./ **Inter-American Development Bank (IADB)** loan to **Peru,** $3.9 m, Arequipa water supply; & to **Bolivia,** $10 m, various develop projects./**Kuwait** to **Lebanon,** £5 m loan, Beirut municipal improvements (Feb)./ **Germany** to give ca $1000 m (DM 4 b) to less develop countries in 1961./ **USSR** loan to **India,** $126 m, various industrial projects (Feb); & to **Pakistan,** $30 m loan, oil exploration (Mar)./ **US** sale of 240,000 bales cotton under PL 480, value ca $35.1 m; rupee equiv to be partially granted, partially lent./ **IADB** loan to **Paraguay,** $3 m, industr & agric developm (Mar).

The Future Course of SID—Proposals for Study

J. BEN LIEBERMAN

THE RAPID GROWTH of international development as a recognizable career activity, and the rapid growth of SID, suggest that the Society should now consciously determine where it intends to go from here.

International development as an activity cuts across, or rather combines, a great variety of specialties; a society that serves both this great divergence and the unifying core must be a very special kind of organization. It cannot be a professional society in the accepted sense since its practitioners are not homegeneous enough and their particular skills are neither closely focused nor, as yet, well developed. Further, the normal professional practice of restricting practitioners according to "professional qualifications" would not only be difficult to achieve but, more importantly, would cut off rather than help the growth of the activity and might pose some very real problems of a political sort. Nevertheless, in many ways, international development *is* very much like a profession—for example, in its dedicated group of practitioners, and in a combination of special skills that can have important benefits or disastrous consequences for the "clientele."

It is this very combination of the many bodies of knowledge and technique, and their merging into creative approaches to problems of tremendous import, that provides the clue to what SID can become.

SID can be a professional society in the sense of serving a career group and actively furthering the development of a professional body of knowledge and technique. But if this professional body of knowledge and technique is to be realized, SID must also continue to be a generalist type of society that consciously cuts across and integrates the great variety of disciplines involved in international development. And it must be an inclusive rather than an exclusive society in its membership.

Perhaps, then, the proper descriptive term is *"integrative* society"—an integrative society specifically functioning—

- To bring together and distinguish, from whatever specialized field or generalist activity, those persons who are involved in a special relationship to carry on international development activities.
- To help develop and disseminate the necessary (professional) body of knowledge and technique to advance international development more effectively, efficiently, and rapidly.
- To serve the needs of the practitioners involved.

A Tangible Program

WITHOUT PROPOSING any order of priorities or pretending to be an exhaustive list, I suggest that these are some of the activities SID might undertake as an integrative society:

- A placement or employment exchange might be set up to serve individuals and agencies alike. (This might at least be an activity of the annual conference.)
- Student chapters might be organized and assisted, to further recruitment for the profession by stimulating interest and providing counseling in course and career questions.
- A standards committee might focus attention on the problem of raising the quality of developmental activity.
- An education committee might focus attention on developing insight into recruiting and training of practitioners, with some emphasis on developing university chairs and curricula.
- A publications program might expand the present activity of publishing the *International Development Review* to include also a variety of other materials that are needed but cannot be expected to be processed quickly enough through normal publishing channels. A central library and clearing house might be set up.
- Editorial and manuscript placement assistance might be offered, especially to personnel overseas not in a position to communicate adequately with editors in the publishing centers. This would serve to increase the flow of professional literature, particularly at the level of accumulating field experience.
- A speakers' bureau might be a liaison between the many SID members who have messages they want urgently to spread and the many organizations seeking speakers on the subject of international development.
- Organizing committees might help to start chapters in greatly increased numbers around the world and provide logistic support. The chapters would stimulate local activities and local interest in SID, add to the communication network of international development, and furnish contact points for practitioners moving from one area to another.
- A public policy committee might study and articulate the position of international development practitioners on matters in their fields of competence and help to increase the flow of knowledge about international development to the public.
- Insurance and retirement programs, somewhat like the TIAA (Teachers' Insurance and Annuity Association) service for teachers who move around from one school to another, might be offered.
- A personnel services bureau might help in such matters as advice on personal problems (for example, travel), orientation, help in obtaining professional literature while overseas, forwarding of mail, and distributing a news circular containing important information such as new legislation. Conceivably, SID might institute a special-service travel bureau on a reduced-rate basis, or even sponsor chartered flights to key points more or less regularly. As in the cast of other activities suggested, this might more than pay for itself as well as providing unique services for members.

Implications and Answers

IT WILL PERHAPS HELP to make clear the import of these proposals if we examine some of the key questions raised about them in discussions.

- There is a very real distaste for having international development become a profession in the sense of some of the older professions because they sometimes seem to use their organized strength to fight for shortsighted and self-serving goals rather than the public good. The answer is that this is not inherent and certainly not inevitable as long as SID is conscious of the problem and rejects the tendency.
- Formalizing SID might tend to freeze concepts and cut off the formulation of new theories and techiques of international development. More specifically, delineating international development in any way would seem to be limiting it, making it a partial function instead of a wide-ranging activity encompassing and able to draw on all human knowledge and skills. The answer is that SID might consciously move in precisely the opposite direction: to recognize a generalist approach, and to provide the communication and the focus to enrich and enlarge the whole, to keep definitions open and explorations free, to deliberately and continuously draw in new blood and new ideas. In any case, it is difficult to conceive that SID could restructure itself so comprehensively, so quickly and dictatorially, that the very turmoil of organizing and developing "official" positions would not create more divergencies and fresh opinions than would be silenced.

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Just before the 1961 SID conference J. Ben Lieberman, Chairman of the Membership Affairs Committee of the New York Chapter, prepared a fairly lengthy paper containing proposals for the possible future course of development of SID. It was too late to include these proposals in the agenda of the conference, nor would there have been time, in the very short business session, to discuss them. Instead, the paper was distributed in mimeographed form to the Council at its brief meeting at the close of the conference; and at the editor's request Mr. Lieberman prepared a summary for the* Review *as a method of bringing the proposals to the attention of the membership. The full paper, mimeographed, is available and will be sent to any member requesting it. We hope the Lieberman proposals will stimulate further thinking and discussion not only by other individual members but also on the part of chapters. All such proposals will be submitted to the Council for study with a view to ultimate consideration and action by the membership through some appropriate procedure. Requests for the Lieberman paper, as well as correspondence on these or other proposals, should be addressed to the SID Executive Secretary, Mr. Marion Clawson, at 1720 Rhode Island Avenue NW, Washington 6, DC, USA.*

• A specific case of limitation is seen in any tightening of membership requirements. At present, SID membership is open to anyone willing to pay dues, including persons who may never even think of participating personally in international development career activities. This provides a simple and effective way to bring in new blood from marginal sources—in a positive sense by giving visitors and casual outsiders a taste that may become habit-forming, and in a negative sense by preventing any arbitrary cutting off of people who may have potential but no present "qualifications" to show. To safeguard this, a by-law might provide that no qualification beyond payment of dues would be required for associate membership, which might even carry entitlement to full personal services. In due time, if it proved desirable, some such designations as "active" members and "fellows" might provide for special activities among particular levels of practitioners. Institutional membership need not be affected, except that the greater usefulness of the organization might prompt more such membership.

• There is a hard-headed appraisal that international development activities are not in fact at a high enough level of knowledge, technique, or performance to be considered a profession, and that anything that would seem to be claiming a professional status is premature if not misguided. The answer is that this is all the more reason for a concerted effort to improve standards and performance, and that SID can be of substantial assistance in this effort.

The proposals covered in this paper cannot be achieved quickly by fiat or even by hard work; they will take time and will develop gradually. But they do provide a direction to move toward, and this can speed the process. Since literally billions of persons are affected by international development, every day of shortening misery is a blessing for mankind.

BIOGRAPHS

EDITOR'S NOTE: The *Review* attempts to obtain biographical notes for all authors and SID officers whose names appear for the first time in the current issue. Omission of a biograph means that the editor did not receive the necessary material or did not receive it in time. Biographs that have appeared in earlier issues will be referred to but not repeated in the current issue. SID members are indicated by a small circle supra °.

• GEORGE W. BALL is Under Secretary for Economic Affairs in the US Department of State, appointed February 1. A specialist in international law, he has been a member of the law firm of Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen and Ball, with offices in New York, Washington, Paris, and Brussels. His previous service with the US government included a period as associate general counsel of the Lend-Lease Administration (1942-44); as director of the US Strategic Bombing Survey (1944-45); and as attorney in the office of the general counsel in the Treasury Department. Born in Des Moines, Iowa, in December 1909, he attended Northwestern University, receiving his AB degree in 1930 and JD in 1933. (Vol. III No. 2)

• RAMON BINAMIRA° is head of the office of PACD (Presidential Assistant on Community Development) in the Philippines, a post that involves coordinating all government agencies engaged in rural improvement. A private attorney prior to government service, he was instrumental in enlisting Philippine youth in support of President Magsaysay and subsequently became executive secretary of the National Planning Committee for Community Development, eventually heading the program. At the third annual SID conference in April 1961 Dr. Binamira was elected Regional Vice President for Asia. (Vol. III No. 2)

• GORDON BOYCE, US president and international secretary general of The Experiment in International Living for the past 10 years has recently been appointed director of private-agency relations for the Peace Corps. Prior to becoming executive officer of The Experiment (its official abbreviation) he had been assistant to the president of Colgate University—of which he is a graduate—and instructor in communications at Colgate; had served for 5 years in England with the US Navy (two Presidential citations); and had been a newspaper reporter and an advertising manager in Binghamton, New York, his birthplace. The Experiment in International Living is a private, non-profit organization founded in 1932 by Dr. Donald B. Watt. Its home office is in Putney, Vermont. It has 3 regional offices (New York, Washington, Chicago), local offices in 15 countries, and volunteer representatives in 20 more. For some 30 years The Experiment has fostered cross-cultural understanding by direct action, arranging for families or individuals from one country to live with families in another country. So far the program has involved about 100,000 persons in 35 countries on 5 continents. Most of the travelers are from the USA, but in 1960 there were 1000 foreign visitors in the USA under Experiment auspices compared with 150 ten years ago. (Vol. III No. 2)

• MURRAY D. BRYCE,° Canadian economist, is a member of the staff of Arthur D. Little, Inc.,° industrial research and consultant organization in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he works on economic development plans and projects in various countries. In 1957-59 he was an economic advisor to the government of Burma and had served on the staff of the World Bank° beginning in 1951. An honors graduate of the University of Columbia, he was chief accountant for government corporations in the Department of Industrial Development in Saskatchewan and later worked on the field staff of the Public Service Administration in Chicago. A guest lecturer at the ICA Institute of Development Programming (The Johns Hopkins University, Washington), Mr. Bryce is the author of *Industrial Development* (McGraw-Hill 1961). At the third annual SID conference in April 1961 he was elected to the Council. (Vol. III No. 2)

• LUKAS F. BURCKHARDT° has been Labor Counselor of the Embassy of Switzerland since 1957. Previously (1937-1957) he had been a member of the Basel labor mediation and arbitration board (Ständiges staatliches Einigungsamt) and collaborated with the Basel labor department especially in drafting labor legislation and handling court cases. In 1935-37 he was secretary in the Basel Chamber of Commerce. Born in Basel in March 1908, Dr. Burckhardt studied at the universities of Basel, Geneva, Zürich, and Berlin and received the LL D degree magna cum laude from the University of Basel in 1931. He is the author of numerous articles and papers on labor problems and collective bargaining. At the third annual conference in April 1961 Dr. Burckhardt was elected to the Council of SID. (Vol. III No. 2)

• GORDON R. CLAPP,° president of Development and Resources Corporation° and formerly chairman of the Board of TVA, was elected a member of the SID Council at the third annual conference in April 1961. For a more detailed biograph see IDR Vol. II No. 1. (Vol. III No. 2)

• JAMES HARLAN CLEVELAND,° appointed Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs in January 1961, was formerly dean of Syracuse University's° Maxwell School of Citzenship and Public Affairs and is the co-author of the widely known study, *The Overseas Americans*. He served as a member of the Council of SID until his term expired in April 1961. For a more detailed biograph see IDR Vol. I No. 1. (Vol. III No. 2)

• LUCIA J. DUNHAM has been a medical officer (cancer research) at the National Cancer Institute in Bethesda, Maryland, since 1951. Born in Chicago in 1906 she received the B.A. degree from Smith College and the M.D. degree from the University of Chicago. Dr. Dunham's studies in the laboratory have included observations on the development of normal tissues of newborn animals after transplantation and attempts to produce cancer with naturally occurring substances. Her interest in the distribution of cancer in racial groups and geographic areas has led to epidemiologic studies of patients with cancers at several sites and to surveys of the methodology in this field.

• LUTHER H. EVANS,° currently senior consultant in the Brookings Institution, Washington, was formerly Director-General of Unesco. At the third annual conference of SID in April 1961 he was elected Vice President. For a more detailed biograph of Dr. Evans see IDR Vol. II No. 1. (Vol. III No. 2)

• W. GORDON GRAHAM° is General Manager of the International Division of the McGraw-Hill Book Company. A graduate of Glasgow University, Scotland, he lived for many years in India, traveling extensively in that country and throughout South-East Asia, with headquarters in Bombay. From 1949 to 1956 he was a freelance correspondent, writing regularly for the Christian Science Monitor and McGraw-Hill World News and contributing to newspapers in India, Australia, Great Britain, and Germany. He was also responsible during this period for sales of McGraw-Hill books and magazines in India and South Asia. Since assuming his present post early in 1956, he has traveled in South America, eastern Europe, and the Far East. (Vol. III No. 2)

• JOHN M. HUNTER° is professor of economics at Michigan State University, where he has served since 1950 and where in 1957-58 he was acting head of the Department of Economics. In 1955-56 he served on the MSU technical assistance team in Vietnam and in 1958-60 was director of the Centro Estudios sobre Desarrollo Economico, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia. Born in Champaign, Illinois, in December 1921, he holds BS (1943) and MS (1947) degrees from the University of Illinois and MA (1949) and Ph D (1951) from Harvard University. He is co-author (with Lindholm and Balles) of *Money and Banking* (1954) and has written many bulletins, reports, articles, and reviews. (Vol. III No. 2)

• HENRY VAN ZILE HYDE,° Assistant to the [USA] Surgeon General for International Health, was elected Vice President of SID at the third annual conference in April 1961. Previously he had been Regional Vice President for North America. For a more detailed biograph see IDR Vol. I No. 1. (Vol. III No. 2)

• JOSÉ ANTONIO MAYOBRE ° is Ambassador of Venezuela to the United States and Chief Delegate to the Organization of American States. Formerly he was Minister of Finance of Venezuela; alternate governor for Venezuela of the International Monetary Fund; managing director of the Venezuelan Agricultural and Livestock Bank; assistant director of the Mexican Bureau of ECLA; resident representative of the UN Technical Assistance Board in Central America; chief of the Economic Development Division of ECLA in Santiago, Chile; director of the Venezuelan Development Corporation. From 1946 to 1960 he was professor of economic analysis in the School of Economics, Central University, Caracas. Dr. Mayobre was born in Cumaná, Venezuela, in August 1913. His published works on economic affairs include *La Paridad del Bolívar, Filosofía y Ciencia Económica, La Situation Economique Actuelle de Venezuela.* At the third annual conference in April 1961 Dr. Mayobre was elected President of SID. (Vol. III No. 2)

• RAYMOND F. MIKESELL,° associate director of the Institute of International Studies and Overseas Administration of the University of Oregon, is in charge of the overseas research and training program carried out by the university in cooperation with Latin American institutes. The program began in 1960 and is financed by a Ford Foundation° grant. Among some 30 special assignments during the past several years, Dr. Mikesell has served as consultant to the US Department of State; member of the Advisory Committee of the US Council, International Chamber of Commerce, and of an advisory committee of the US Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee; project director of a US Senate Foreign Relations Committee study of Latin American economic development; seminar director of a Ford Foundation regional faculty research seminar; project director of a University of Oregon study of US post-war foreign investment experience, financed by the Ford Foundation; member of the working group on the common market, ECLA; consultant to the Pan American Union; staff member and consultant, [the President's] Council of Economic Advisers. Prior to coming to Oregon in 1957 he had been professor of economics in the University of Virginia for 11 years, economist in the US Treasury Department, and Treasury attaché at Cairo. Born in Eaton, Ohio, in 1913, he holds the degrees of BA (1935), MA (1935), and Ph D (1939) from Ohio State University. He is the author of many books, monographs, and articles on economics, especially in the fields of development and international trade. (Vol. III No. 2)

• JAMES GEORGE PATTON° has been president of the National Farmers Union° (USA) since 1940 and president of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers since 1958. He was active in the Colorado Farmers Union beginning in 1932 and has been associated with IFAP since its beginning in 1946. Concurrently he is president of the NFU Life Insurance Co., the NFU Service Corporation, and the NFU Auto Insurance Co. As a US farm leader Mr. Patton has been an advisor to the FAO conferences at Quebec 1945, Copenhagen 1946, Geneva 1947, and Washington 1948, and was a consultant at the UN Conference on International Order at San Francisco in 1945. He has participated in many other international conferences and in the work of various government commissions and leading non-governmental organizations. Born in Bazar, Kansas, in 1902, he holds an LL D degree from Western State College, Colorado. (Vol. III No. 2)

• P. S. N. PRASAD,° member of the staff of the World Bank,° is currently serving as economic advisor to the government of Nigeria. For a biographical note see IDR Vol. I No. 1. (Vol. III No. 2)

• RAUL PREBISCH° has since 1950 been UN Under Secretary in charge of the Economic Commission for Latin America. Formerly he was professor of political economy, University of Buenos Aires (1925-48); director of economic research, National Bank of Argentina (1927-30); economic advisor to the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Agriculture (1932-35); organizer and director-general of the Central Bank of Argentina (1935-43; Under Secretary for Finance, Argentina (1930-32). Dr. Prebisch was born in Tucumán, Argentina, in April 1901 and graduated from the University of Buenos Aires in 1922. At the third annual conference of SID in April 1961 he was elected Regional Vice President for Latin America. (Vol. III No. 2)

• HENRY S. REUSS (pronounced Royce) is currently serving his fourth term in the US House of Representatives from Wisconsin's 5th Congressional District. First elected to Congress in 1954, he was reelected in 1956, 1958, and 1960. His main interests as a Congressman are economic affairs, foreign policy, and conservation. He is a member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, the Joint Economic Committee, and the Government Operations Committee, and has authored legislation to protect forest and wildlife resources. His proposed Youth Corps, to allow young Americans to serve abroad in technical assistance missions, became the Peace Corps. Born in Milwaukee in February 1922, Congressman Reuss is a graduate of Cornell University (1933) and Harvard Law School (1936). Now a lieutenant-colonel in the Army Reserve, he served three years in World War II, winning the Bronze Star medal. After the war he was deputy general counsel for the Marshall Plan in Europe. (Vol. III No. 2)

ANDREW E. RICE° was a member of the group that worked with the Colorado State University Research Foundation in its study of the advisability and practicability of establishing a Peace Corps. For a more detailed biograph see IDR Vol. III No. 1. (Vol. III No. 2)

• DEREK S. SINGER° is currently acting chief of the Peace Corps, Latin American division. In the summer of 1960 he was chief ICA training officer in the Congo, having previously served as chief ICA training officer in Costa Rica (1959-60), assistant training officer for ICA training (1956-58), chief of the CARE° mission in Bolivia (1955-56), and deputy chief of the CARE mission in Colombia (1954). Born in 1925, he holds a BA degree (1952) from New York University and MA from the School of Advanced International Studies (The Johns Hopkins University), and has done graduate work in the United States Department of Agriculture Graduate School. (Vol. III No. 2)

• MANSFIELD I. SMITH° is director of the department of public information of The Experiment in International Living and also director of the organization's newly established regional office in Washington, DC. Previously he had had three years of graduate study and teaching at the Maxwell School, Syracuse University°, where he was executive assistant to the dean. Prior to that he served 7 years as an officer in the US Air Force. Before leaving the Air Force he traveled extensively on duty in the Far East as technical inspector and later officer in charge of Security Service communications in that area. A native of Worcester, Massachusetts, he graduated from the US Military Academy at West Point in 1949. (Vol. III No. 2)

• EUGENE STALEY,° a senior international economist at the Stanford Research Institute,° is director of the SRI International Industrial Development Center. He joined the staff of the Institute in 1949. In 1955-57 he served in India as consultant on industrial development (in particular, small industry and applied economic research) for the Ford Foundation° and the India government, and early in 1960 revisited that country on a similar mission. Other assignments have included directing a study in 1952 for the Council on Foreign Relations on political implications of economic development; organizing the program for the conference on human values in industrial society jointly sponsored in 1951 by the Corning Glass Works and the American Council of Learned Societies; serving as chief economist with the World Bank's° mission to Cuba in 1950. Previously he had been instrumental in forming the World Affairs Council of Northern California (1945) and participated in the research program of Stanford University's Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace. A consultant to the US Budget Bureau in 1941 and an economist in the State Department in 1942, he assisted in the establishment of the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, was sent to China by UNRRA, and served as a member of the UN Charter conference at San Francisco. A faculty member of the University of Chicago from 1931 to

1937, he also taught at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (Tufts College and Harvard University), and The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. Born in Friend, Nebraska, in July 1906, Dr. Staley has a BA degree magna cum laude from Hastings College (1925) and Ph D from the University of Chicago (1928), and has studied at the Graduate Institute in Geneva, the Bibliothèque National in Paris, the Universities of Berlin and Kiel, and the London School of Economics. His books include *War and the Private Investor* (1935), *Raw Materials in Peace and War* (1937), *World Economy in Transition* (1939), *Raw Material Problems and Policies* (1946), *World Economic Development* (1944), and *The Future of Underdeveloped Countries* (1954—new paper edition to be published soon). (Vol. III No. 2)

• HAROLD L. STEWART is Chief of the Laboratory of Pathology at the National Cancer Institute in Bethesda, Maryland. Born in August 1899 he received the M.D. degree from Jefferson Medical College in 1926, and has been with the United States Public Health Service since 1937. Dr. Stewart's research interests include carcinogenesis, particularly the experimental production of cancer in the gastrointestinal tract, and also studies in the geographic pathology of cancer. Dr. Stewart was president of the American Society for Experimental Pathology (1955) and president of the American Association for Cancer Research (1958-59). He has served in an official capacity in numerous other associations and committees. In connection with the activities of the Committee on Geographic Pathology he attended international meetings on cancer in countries of Western Europe, and in England, Norway, Italy, Portugal, Egypt, Africa South of the Sahara, India, Japan, and Latin America. Dr. Stewart received the Ward Burdick Award of the American Society of Clinical Pathologists in 1957. (Vol. III, No. 2)

• GENGO SUZUKI° is Executive Director of the World Bank° and the International Monetary Fund for Burma, Ceylon, Japan, and Thailand. In 1957-60 he was Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Embassy of Japan, Washington, and in 1951-57 Financial Commissioner in the Ministry of Finance, Japan. Prior to 1951 he had been a university professor of economics in Taiwan. Born in February 1904 in Mino-kamo City, Japan, he is a graduate of the Government College of Commerce, Taihoku, Taiwan, and the University of Wisconsin (MA in economics 1927). A member of the 1957 conference and the Interim Commission that established SID, Dr. Suzuki was elected to the SID Council at the third annual conference in April 1961. (Vol. III No. 2)

• ROBERT THEOBALD,° consulting economist in New York, was elected a member of the SID Council at the third annual conference in April 1961. For a more detailed biograph see IDR Vol. III No. 1. (Vol. III No. 2)

• CLARENCE E. THURBER ° is program associate in the Ford Foundation's ° international training and research program, where he deals with grants to US universities, scholars in the fields of South Asian studies, and training Americans for overseas service. He has been on the Foundation's staff since 1952. His previous experience was in the US Office of Strategic Services, the US Department of State, and the Brookings Institution's international studies group. Born in Nampa, Idaho, in 1921, he took his graduate and undergraduate work at Stanford University, graduating in 1943. In 1959-60 Mr. Thurber was program chairman of the New York Chapter of SID. (Vol. III, No. 2)

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS OF SID

American Friends Service Committee
American Institute for Research
Asiatic Petroleum Corporation
Brown Engineers
CARE, Inc.
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Checchi and Company
Committee for International Economic Growth
Cooperative League of the USA
Development and Resources Corporation
The Ford Foundation
W. R. Grace Company
IBM World Trade Corporation
Institute for International Order
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
International Development Services, Inc.
Arthur D. Little, Inc.
Marci Foundation, Inc.
Massey-Ferguson Ltd.
National Farmers Union
Nationwide Insurance Companies
Phelps-Stokes Fund
Planned Parenthood Federation of America
Shell Chemical Company
Stanford Research Institute
Research Institution of State University of New York
Syracuse University
Tippett-Abbett-McCarthy-Stratton, Engineers
U.S. Steel Corporation
University of California